

Tuesday
December 15 1998
Britain's newspaper
for Europe

The Guardian

G2 with European weather

Women, G2 pages 8-9

Education, G2 pages 12-13

Palestinians hail US president

Clinton gets his historic show of hands

Julian Borger in Gaza

HOURS before Bill Clinton became the first United States president to set foot on Palestinian-controlled land yesterday, he was already seen on every corner of the Gaza Strip standing alongside a joyful Yasser Arafat, under the words "We have a dream - Free Palestine".

The double portrait was everywhere, bedecked with US and Palestinian flags, on placards held aloft by schoolchildren, and on a five storey-high mural. In truth the image was a computer-generated fake which had borrowed a picture of Mr Clinton giving a thumbs up from an old election campaign. But such details mattered little to the waiting crowds.

The president's arrival on this silver of Mediterranean coastline was a spark that would one day bring a Palestinian state to life, and they loved him for it.

When the crucial moment came for the Palestinian National Council to affirm its renunciation of violence against Israel - the main diplomatic prize Mr Clinton had come for - it was

hardened veterans of the long guerrilla war vied with each other to raise their hands highest.

Mr Clinton seized the moment. The council, he said

turn to page 3, column 1



Yasser Arafat thanks Bill Clinton at yesterday's Palestinian National Council meeting in Gaza. PHOTOGRAPH: GARY HERSHORN

Tabloid campaign on EU taxes strengthens hostility to euro

Mark Atkinson and Michael White

TONY Blair's difficulties in winning the public over to the euro were starkly illustrated last night with the release of an opinion poll showing the storm over tax harmonisation intensifying hostility to Britain joining the single currency.

A survey conducted after the tabloid newspaper campaign against standardising taxes across the European Union found opposition to monetary union hardening, reversing the trend of the past year.

Conducted between December 8 and 9, the week after the debate flared, the poll shows 58 per cent against Britain becoming part of the euro-zone and 28 per cent in favour, increasing the majority wanting to retain sterling to 24 per cent from 19 per cent in September.

This reverses the previous pro-EMU swing prompted by the Government's expressions of support for the euro and the principle of joining when economic conditions are right.

The poll, of 1,868 people, underlines the struggle the Government faces with anti-EMU sections of the media when it decides to stage a promised referendum on the subject. It suggests the Government will fulfil its ambition to join the euro-zone only

if it convinces voters that giving up the pound would not mean higher taxes. The biggest swing of anti-EMU feeling has been among readers of tabloid newspapers, according to the poll, which is carried out every two months by MORI for the US investment bank Salomon Smith Barney.

While EMU opponents have always outnumbered supporters among tabloid readers, their ranks have swelled in the past three months from a majority of 80 per cent to 37 per cent as a result of the rash of stories portraying Germany's finance minister Oskar Lafontaine as the new Brussels bogymon.

Michael Saunders, UK economist at Salomon Smith Barney, said the Sun's readership was already highly anti-EMU and its views had not been changed by the episode, which the Prime Minister has tried to bury by issuing a joint UK-German tax statement ruling out harmonisation of income tax and a common business tax structure.

However, anti-EMU sentiment among Daily Mail and Express readers was now of similar proportions. "Even the readers of the Labour-supporting Mirror show a sharp anti-EMU swing," Mr Saunders said.

The Guardian readership is by far the most strongly in favour of Britain joining the

single currency, supported by

Attitudes to the EMU



a majority of almost 40 per cent. However, the tax harmonisation row has reduced this support by around 15 points over the past three months. Support among independent readers has slumped from a majority of just over 30 per cent in September to 10 per cent today.

Leaving the anti-EMU Telegraph aside, broadsheet readers remain broadly in favour of British membership of the euro-zone but they have had their enthusiasm dimmed by the tax harmonisation scare.

From a majority of 11 per cent in favour in September, there is now a pro-EMU mar-

gin of 6 per cent. Even if the Government were to urge people to vote for British membership of the euro-zone, the majority against would be 14 per cent, the poll shows, up from 7 per cent in July and September.

The poll was welcomed by Nick Herbert, the new chief executive of Business for Sterling, the organisation set up to campaign against British membership of the euro-zone. He said the poll confirmed the depth of concern among the public about the implications of Britain joining the euro-zone.

In the Commons yesterday

William Hague raised the tempo following the EU's weekend summit in Vienna, where key decisions were postponed until next spring.

He accused Tony Blair of failing to defend the national interest - as Britain faces the greatest threat to its independence for decades.

The Conservative leader's claim, before the Prime Minister was cross-examined by MPs on the summit, was that the country's charge from Mr Blair that "the lunatics have taken over the asylum" of European policy within the Tory party, where Mr Hague is sur-

rounded by "bandwagons". Mr Blair said: "Britain's interests were safeguarded and promoted without difficulty. We defended our position, in a constructive way, just as others defended theirs."

He claimed the Government had "transformed" Britain's relations with other EU states, building alliances to promote economic reform.

"Those who would and up by taking us out of Europe, or so far to its margins as to eclipse any serious influence in Europe, would profoundly damage this country," Mr Hague said.

Mr Blair's habit of saying one thing to an audience in one place and another to an audience in another place is catching up with him.

Sketch, page 2; Trading losses, page 4; The inflating euro, page 11

10m face criminal vetting

Alan Travis
Home Affairs Editor

EVERY job applicant in Britain will be expected to provide proof of a "clean" criminal record under measures to curb child abuse announced by the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, last night.

Employers will have the right to insist job applicants and volunteers produce a certificate detailing any criminal past from a Criminal Records Bureau which will be set up within two years.

The massive extension of official vetting will involve more than a third of the workforce every year. The Home Office expects 10 million certificates to be issued each year, with applicants charged between £5 and £10.

The new self-financing agency, based on Merseyside and providing 1,300 jobs, will be managed by the UK Passport Agency.

The scheme will involve three levels of checks on a person's criminal past, ranging from listing all "unsent" convictions to enhanced checks for those working with children which disclose unproven police intelligence about current operations.

Fears were raised last night that employers would "play safe" and refuse jobs to anyone with a criminal record, regardless of codes of practice stating that only convictions "relevant" to the job should be taken into account.

About 5 million people in Britain have a criminal record and there were concerns last night that many could face permanent exclusion from the labour market.

Voluntary organisations, such as the Scouts and the National Centre for Volunteering, were angry that the Government had decided their unpaid volunteers would face a charge of up to £10 for each certificate. The Scouts Association said the decision would cost it £750,000 a year.

The scheme to vet all job applicants in Britain formed part of Michael Howard's 1997 Police Act which reached the statute book just before the general election. Labour had made few statements on its position on the new Criminal Records Bureau until Mr Straw announced his plans last night to implement Mr Howard's legislation.

Mr Blair said: "Britain's interests were safeguarded and promoted without difficulty. We defended our position, in a constructive way, just as others defended theirs."

He claimed the Government had "transformed" Britain's relations with other EU states, building alliances to promote economic reform.

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Criminal certificates:

● **Baseline for all job applicants.** Will show all convictions which are not "spent" under the 1974 Rehabilitation of Offenders Act. Expected to be issued to six million people a year.

● **Intermediate for those with regular contact with children, the elderly or the sick and in specified professions such as health, education and the police.** Will include police cautions and "spent" as well as "unsent" convictions. Expected to be issued to two million people each year.

● **Enhanced for jobs involving direct access to children.** Will include all convictions, including those which are "spent", as well as police cautions and "unsent" convictions. Expected to be issued to two million people each year.

The scale of the scheme is because the Data Protection Act says only the individual concerned can give permission for his personal details on the Police National Computer to be passed to a third party. This bars private companies and voluntary organisations from having direct access to police records.

The Home Office minister, Paul Bonington, said the Criminal Records Bureau would be an important step towards stopping dangerous people working with young people.

"We do not believe this will lead to any abuses on the part of those seeking the assurances that the right of the certificate will give. There will be safeguards to protect civil liberties and the rights of ex-offenders under the Rehabil-

itation of Offenders Act will be maintained."

He defended the charge for volunteers by saying £10 was the price of a child's ticket to a football match and would not deter those determined to work with children or undertake other voluntary work.

The National Centre for Volunteering did not believe unpaid volunteers should be out of pocket. "This is a big disappointment," said Tony Vickers, of the centre. "£10 is next to nothing if you are in paid work but many volunteers are not."

The National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders urged the Government to reconsider. It welcomed greater access to the criminal records of those working with children or vulnerable adults but was concerned about giving employers sweeping powers to demand information about past offences.

"There is a real risk that many employers will decide to play safe and refuse to employ anyone with a criminal record. If ex-offenders find it significantly harder to find jobs, this will increase the likelihood of reoffending and damage the fight against crime," said Helen Edwards, Nacro's chief executive.

John Wadham, the director of Liberty, warned that since one in three men had a conviction for a non-motoring offence there was a danger that many would suffer from unjustified discrimination.

But the Association of Chief Police Officers said the scheme would give improved access to criminal records to help employers assess the suitability of job applicants.

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Algeria D5.50	Egypt E2.50	Kenya KSh150	Qatar QR3.50
Algeria US\$2	France FF12	Lebanon L.L.3000	Romania Lei32,500
Andorra FF10	Germany DM3.50	Luxembourg LF65	Russia US\$2.75
Antigua AG\$50	Greece G\$500	Malta M.L.050	Saudi Arabia R10
Bahamas B\$2.00	Hong Kong HK\$25	Morocco D.25	Slovakia SK\$5
Bulgaria BF70	India INR100	Netherlands G.4.25	Spain P275
Canada C\$5.00	Israel IS\$100	Norway Nkr15	Sweden SKr7
Czechia CZ\$100	Italy L.3,500	Oman OR100	Switzerland SF3.50
Czechia Pkz KC28	Jordan JD125	Poland Z\$50	Thailand B\$9
Denmark DKr17	Korea KSh150	Portugal E280	Turkey TL170,000
Dubai D\$5.00			Ukraine US\$3.50
			USA US\$3.00

UK news

The use of four anti-tank missiles in animal feed has been banned throughout Europe to protect consumer health.

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International

Two South Koreans listed as killed in action in the Korean war have escaped from the communist North after 45 years in captivity.

Page 6

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In the G2 EUROPE health pages today: could this charming little flower really cheer you up?

* Ann Robinson recommends a variety of cures for the seasonal hangover * Matthew Norman's diary of a hypochondriac

Sketch

Got a problem? Well, don't bring it to Tonyland



Simon Hoggart

YESTERDAY we were taken on a guided tour of Tonyland, it was the Prime Minister's equivalent of his holiday slides.

In Tonyland there are no rows or disputes. Everybody seeks agreement, and, failing that, they take steps towards a consensus. Mostly in Tonyland people agree with Tony, but on the rare occasions they differ with him, they hold an ongoing debate on the topic (or "engage" with it, as people say in this happy land).

Tonyland resembles a political theme park. One imagines underpaid sweating students in gigantic fibre-glass models of Tony, patting children on the head and encouraging them to take photographs.

Unlike Disneyland, that other semi-mythical place where all the troubles of the world are kept outside, Tonyland is moveable. Last weekend it was situated in Vienna, where the EU was having one of its regular summit meetings.

It seems to have been a most agreeable occasion. Problems were addressed, "overall agreement" was reached, and progress was welcomed on many fronts.

As for our own country, why, Tonyland has attractions for us all. British interests, we learned, are "fully protected", having been "safeguarded and promoted without difficulty".

Were there any arguments which tarnished the gleaming peace of the whole occasion? Heaven forbid! "We defended our positions, in a constructive way, just as others defended theirs."

It certainly sounds as if Mr Blair and his family of ministers will be going back to Tonyland, where they had a marvellous time and thought it was all terrific value for money.

But then along came William Hague, like a drunken boogaloo who's somehow got into the park and is frightening the children on the X's A Small World after All ride.

Young William does not live

in a world of perfect consensus. He believes in the darker forces of debate, argument, and plain old-fashioned offensiveness.

He accused the Prime Minister of saying one thing to the Europeans and another to the rest of us. Why had he told the British people that the UK rebate was not up for discussion, and the Austrian media something quite different?

Why was the economics minister of Luxembourg saying that nothing would stand in the way of tax harmonisation? "Where did he get that idea?" (There is always mileage for a Tory leader in attacking Luxembourgish functionaries. The idea of being ordered about by someone roughly as important as a medium-sized borough treasurer stirs in them an atavistic rage.)

Mr Hague concluded by announcing that the Prime Minister had been "running around the EU giving more false impressions than Rory Bremner", which I thought a little unfair, since Mr Bremner's version of William Hague is rather more convincing than the real thing.

Mr Blair looked pained at all this. People don't shout and make rude jokes in Tonyland. When he has abolished party politics in this country, and we all live in mutual consensus, nobody will need it. (You may recall that he announced the first stage in this ongoing programme last week when he declared that he hoped to destroy the Tory party.)

But, perhaps like Hubert Lane indulged by some jibe of William Hague, he couldn't resist a mild spot of jeering. "Under the present leader of the Conservative Party, the lunatics have taken over the asylum. The policy of his party is provided by the headbangers who surround him."

I looked at the headbangers then around him. There was Peter Lilley, the Dr Niles Crane of the Tories, who famously goes clubbing every night until dawn. Sir George Young, who is alleged to sport six nose rings at the weekend, and Sir Patrick Cormack, whose 1997 oude dance in the mud is still spoken of at Glastonbury with awe.

Mr Blair finished wearily. "If we carry on conducting the type of argument the way you want, we might as well leave the EU." We were back in Tonyland, where nobody ever argues, and we are happy all day long.

Review

Stumbling waltz in memory maze

Mic Moroney

The Way You Look Tonight
Druid Theatre, Galway

NALL Williams, author of the oddly moving and best-selling novel, *Four Letters Of Love*, returns to a theme of familial love and loss in this new play, set in a remote rural Irish post office, where the last telephone switchboard has finally been replaced.

Much of the action takes place in the mind of the elderly Kate, the one-time switchboard operator, and wife of the retired postmaster. As such, she has been a kind of nerve centre for the village, and indeed her own family and children, two of whom have long emigrated.

Her three kids are walking, talking characters in Kate's imagination — a faculty left vividly intact by the disease to which she is finally succumbing: cerebellar ataxia, a progressive wastage of all motor neurons.

This is a fragmentary, meandering piece, which hinges on the slow, unfurling depiction of a loving, but textbook-dysfunctional family. The core of it is that Kate's caring, sweet-humoured husband has repeatedly two-timed her down the years, causing gossip of which she was only too aware.

It is at this point, almost belatedly, that all the theatrical "make believe" games come into focus.

Kate's adult children con-

stantly relive their earliest roles, re-enacting their father's infidelities by aping the fantasy world of their parents.

The latter is summoned up by the soundtrack: the camp, schmaltzy ballroom music of the forties and fifties, with grainy video of Fred Astaire's spectaculars projected on to the actors as they shuffle through a few steps.

It's never entirely clear where Kate's imagination/memory ends and "real time" begins. Raging against her infirmity, Britta Smith's Kate is flinty, powerful, yet strangely forgiving of her husband, Jim. As the latter, Patrick Waldren curves a curiously sympathetic figure from rather thin material, as he cheerfully endures the gruelling intimacies of incontinence and spoon-feeding.

These scenes don't quite convince you of the weight of years, but they are affecting nonetheless, teasing out the psychology of terminal illness, dependency, and guilty caring — not least in their last, spastic waltzes, as Jim heaves Kate in and out of her wheelchair.

Outside these moments and the brief dance routines, the piece remains often icily static.

Paddy Cusack's direction certainly lacks the ferocious tension of a lot of Druid's work.

But it's hard to know how you could imbue Williams's script, with its rambling progress, with any real dramatic structure or drive.

Chancellor seeks idealistically based global economy □ US speech will propose code of conduct

Brown to take high ground

Larry Elliott
Economics Editor

THE Chancellor, Gordon Brown, will today call for the international community to repudiate the laissez-faire doctrine of the Thatcher-Reagan era when he unveils the Government's four-point plan for a new global economic constitution based on "high ideals".

Billed as Labour's Third Way for a global economy shaken by the series of crises of the past 18 months, Mr Brown's plan will call for codes of conduct for governments, curbs on the private sector and safeguards for the world's poor during international Monetary Fund pro-

grammes. The Chancellor will warn his audience at Harvard that the traumatic events of the past 18 months have exposed the weaknesses of a deregulated international system. He will urge that the left-of-centre governments that now dominate the leading industrial nations should speed up plans for reform.

"We can't simply declare whenever the stock market bounces back that the crisis is over and that we can return to the status quo," he will say.

Britain is concerned that the recovery in share prices since central banks started to cut interest rates has started to erode the strong commitment to reform at the time of the Russian debt default and the near-collapse of the Long Term Capital Management

hedge fund in the summer. "The responsibility falls on a new generation to be present at the creation of new rules that break with the past and that both effectively and fairly meet the demands of the new global economy. Times and circumstances change but ideals endure."

The Chancellor will underline the need for urgent action tomorrow when he travels to Washington for meetings with Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve, Robert Rubin, the US Treasury Secretary, Michel Camdessus, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, and James Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank.

In his speech today, the Chancellor will argue that the

architects of the post-war international economic system gave expression to a new public purpose based on high ideals.

"The 1990s saw a new consensus emerge based on a return to laissez-faire. This was focused not on what governments should do but on what governments should not do. Enlightened self-interest gave way to sheer self-interest."

"Instead of rising to the challenge of applying post-war ideals to a new world, and aiming for high levels of employment and prosperity for all, sights were lowered and the vision was narrowed. The global market had to be left entirely to market dogma, which left no place for the pursuit of high ideals." Mr

Brown will say that the aim for policy makers should be to capture the full benefits of global markets and capital flows while at the same time minimising the risks of disruption, maximising opportunities and protecting the most vulnerable. "In short, to return to the international economy to public purpose and high ideals."

The Government is calling for reforms in four specific areas — codes of conduct for governments on monetary, fiscal and social policy, the creation of a global financial regulator, a system of global crisis prevention that would prevent the private sector from exacerbating emergencies and social protection for the poor.

"National governments

should not pick and mix which standards they choose to meet and which standards they choose to ignore. It is for these reasons that proper implementation of the codes must be a condition for any IMF or World Bank support."

According to the Government, the private sector must forge partnerships with governments, in which information would be made available, but firms would have a responsibility not to leave when times got rough.

Mr Brown will stress that while international capital flows have created fresh challenges, "the guiding star remains the same — the promotion of global economic stability and international co-operation to promote growth and employment."

Man who killed at random found hanged in Broadmoor

Simon Cooper

ASCHIZOPHRENIC killer who was being detained for life for the random killing of a retired civil servant hanged himself yesterday.

Christopher Moffatt, 27, described as "a grave danger to the public" by the judge who committed him earlier this month, was found hanging by his ankles by staff at Broadmoor Hospital.

On April 9 this year, Moffatt walked into the Andover home of 64-year-old Anthony Harrison and attacked him with a kitchen knife as he had lunch with his wife, Jennifer.

The attack caused fatal wounds to Mr Harrison and left his 61-year-old wife severely injured.

Moffatt, a former university student, who was diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia in 1993, later told police: "I just went out looking for someone to kill."

At Winchester crown court, Moffatt admitted the manslaughter of Mr Harrison on the grounds of diminished responsibility and the attempted murder of his wife.

Moffatt was committed to Broadmoor indefinitely on December 4 by Mr Justice Richards. "It is plain to see you pose a grave danger to the public," he added. "One's heart goes out to the family, whose lives have been devastated in this way. It is no comfort to them to know you were suffering mental illness at the time and are still suffering it now."

Yesterday a Broadmoor spokesman said: "We can confirm a patient was found dead in his room. An inquest will be held to examine the exact circumstances."

Last night, mental health campaigners condemned the system which had left Moffatt free to kill.

Moffatt, who had twice pre-



Jennifer Harrison: suffered severe injuries in attack

viously attempted suicide, carried out the killing seven weeks after walking out of a psychiatric unit in November 1997.

Three months earlier he had been deemed so ill he needed detaining in a secure hospital. But it was felt his condition had improved enough for him to be transferred to a non-psychiatric unit — Parklands Hospital in Basingstoke, Hampshire. While there he repeatedly went missing.

Marjorie Wallace, chief executive of Sane, said: "Christopher's suicide is one of the most stark reminders of how our casual attitudes to serious mental illness can result in desperate suffering and unnecessary death."

"It is a scandal that Christopher was allowed to abscond eight times from the same hospital despite being found sufficiently deluded and disturbed to be detained under the Mental Health Act."

She added: "His family had pleaded for him to be kept under constant supervision, but they were ignored."

During Moffatt's attack, Mr Harrison suffered wounds to



Christopher Moffatt... trial heard that he told police 'I just went out looking for someone to kill'

Nude Nicole makes news

Michael Ellison in New York

BROADWAY reacted yesterday as if it had over-see a naked body before when The Blue Room, the most talked about theatrical event in years, opened.

Times Square, which has lost many of its strip clubs to Mayor Rudy Giuliani's war on smut, opened its arms to erotica in the legitimate theatre as the Hollywood star Nicole Kidman drove the Clinton impeachment story down the news agenda.

The first three pages of the Daily News were devoted to David Hare's updated version of *La Ronde*, leading with the headline: "Naked Nicole Takes Broadway."

The New York Post concentrated on the response of film Cruise. Ms Kidman's husband, with "Tom: Nicole is Diamond In The Buff", while the New York Times went for a more restrained "Fool's Gold In The Kingdom Of Desire" on the front of its fifth section.

The play, a transfer from the Donmar Warehouse in London, is running on Broad-



Nicole Kidman takes her opening night curtain call

way for only 111 performances and has already taken \$2.3 million at the box office. Touts are asking \$390 (\$210) for what is routinely described as Broadway's hottest ever ticket. Thirty-one-year-

old Kidman and the rarely mentioned Iain Glen play the parts of all 10 characters, involved in five sexual encounters.

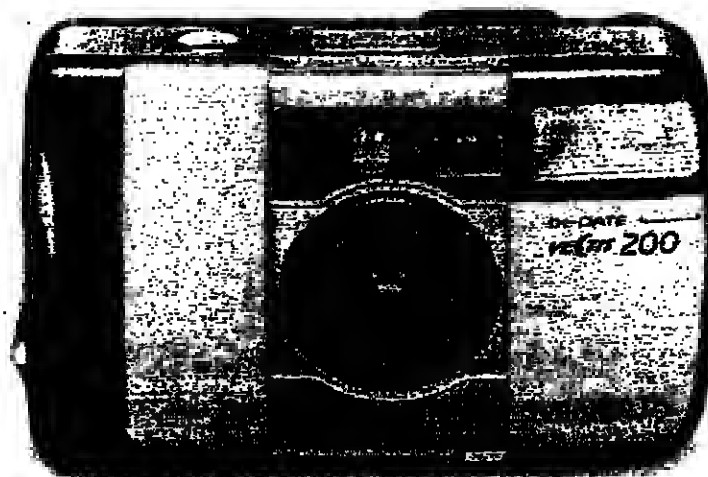
Apart from Cruise, opening night at the Cort Theatre was a photo-opportunity for movie directors Spike Lee and Joel Schumacher, chat show host Rosie O'Donnell, designer Diane von Furstenberg, and actress Teri Hatcher.

"Iain and Nicole kicked it tonight," said Cruise. "I've seen the play many times but I got so caught up in the characters that I forget that it's my wife up there."

Some of the New York critics took a line contrary to their London counterparts and focused on the more high-minded aspects of the production.

Fintan O'Toole in the Daily News said: "Though it may be the corniest chat-up line in the book, the real revelation is not Nicole Kidman's like and willowy body but her mind. What shines through most powerfully is her brilliant theatrical intelligence, the speed and subtlety with which she adopts and adapts five very different characters."

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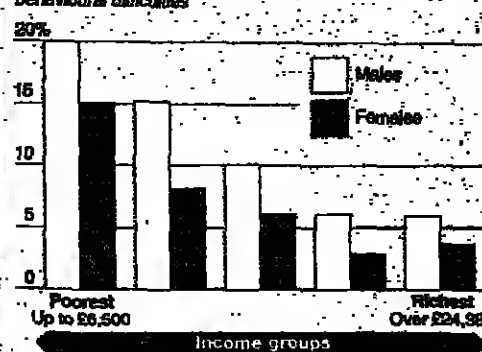
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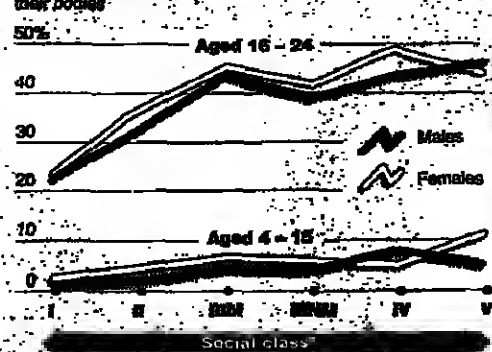
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Difficult children and income

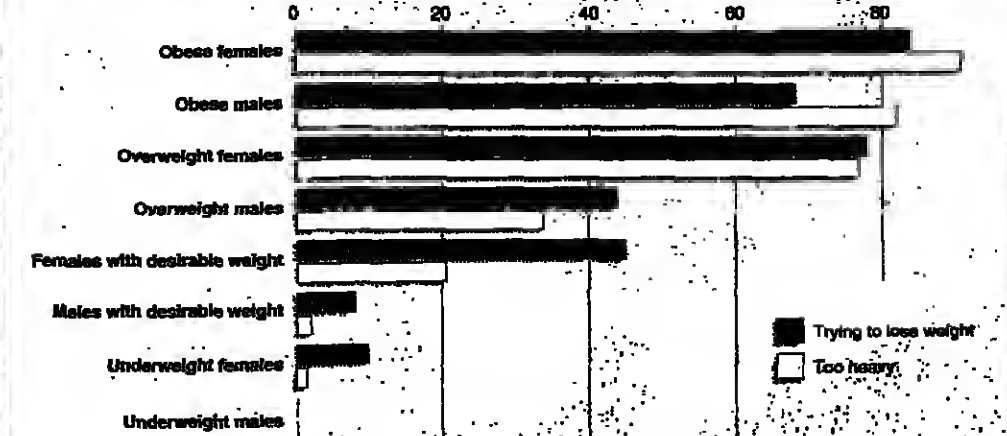
Percentage of children aged 4-15 with emotional/behavioural difficulties

**Smoking**

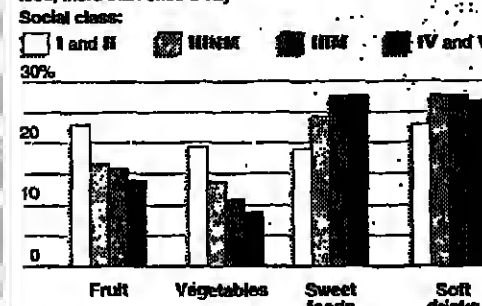
Percentage of youngsters with nicotine in their bodies

**Weight and self image**

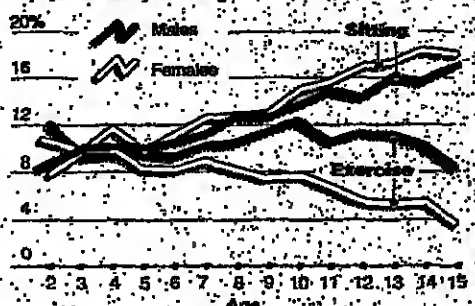
Percentage of 16-24-year-olds who reported themselves as too heavy, and percentage trying to lose weight

**Food**

Percentage of children aged 2-15 who ate each type of food, more than once a day

**Physical activity**

Average number of hours children spent in the last week in physical activity or sitting



Social classes: I: professional; II: managerial/technical; III: skilled (manual and non manual); IV: partly skilled; V: unskilled



Pinochet fightback before law lords

Clare Dyer

THE unprecedented bid by General Augusto Pinochet's lawyers to set aside the law lords' ruling that he has no immunity from prosecution will be heard today in the same Lords committee room where Lord Hoffmann and two of his fellow judges were persuaded that international law no longer protected heads of state who committed crimes against humanity.

The general's lawyers are attempting to have the three-judge panel set aside because there is no higher court to which they can appeal. The argument, which is likely to continue tomorrow, will be heard by five judges—three current law lords (Lords Browne-Wilkinson, Hutton and Hope) — and two who have recently retired (Lords Goff and Nolan).

Pinochet's lawyers will argue that Lord Hoffmann's role as chairman of Amnesty International, the human rights organisation's fund-raising arm, and his wife's employment as an administrative assistant to Amnesty, created an appearance of bias, resulting in a flawed decision.

If the law lords were to agree that the judgment could not stand, the whole appeal would have to be heard again. The hearing is part of a two-pronged attack the general's legal team hopes will secure his release to Chile. The law firm, Kingsley Napley, revealed yesterday that it intended to seek a judicial review of Jack Straw's decision to let the extradition process begin.

Although no grounds were given, such reviews are usually made on the basis that a home secretary was wrong in law, or did not exercise discretion properly.

It is unlikely the application will be made before the new year. By then, Pinochet might know whether his appeal to the House of Lords has succeeded.

If the panel backed the original judgment, the decision would probably be announced immediately. If the five set it aside, they would be likely to take a little longer to explain their reasons.

Lord Browne-Wilkinson, the senior law lord, is an immensely experienced, highly respected moderate. He was responsible for initiating the law lords' inquiry into "fat cat" legal aid barristers' fees.

Lord Hutton is seen as conservative. Lords Hope, Goff and Nolan are moderates. Pinochet's lawyers are not expected to argue that the law lord was actually motivated by bias in reaching his decision. Since Amnesty was allowed to intervene in the case and strongly pressed the argument that the general should have no immunity, Lord Hoffmann should have stepped down if any party wished it, they will argue.

Had he stood down and a different law lord taken his place, the decision could have gone the other way. Amnesty will not play a role in today's hearing, but its lawyers have been liaising with the Crown Prosecution Service, which is opposing the application on behalf of the Spanish government.

Ann Jones QC, for the CPS, is expected to argue that the lords were deciding a pure point of law — whether state immunity covers crimes against humanity — and the facts of Gen Pinochet's case were not strictly relevant to their decision.

The CPS is also likely to cite a fund-raising letter from Amnesty International last year to Kingsley Napley, signed by Lord Irvine, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Bingham, Lord Chief Justice, and Lord Woolf, Master of the Rolls. The letter and a booklet make it clear that Lord Hoffmann is chairman of the charity and of the appeal for funds for a building.

Although the general's lawyers have been careful not to discuss their strategy, it seems clear they expect a long haul; the Chilean air force jet which had been waiting at RAF Brize Norton in Oxfordshire to take General Pinochet home flew back to South America yesterday.

State of children's health linked to their place on the class ladder, survey shows

Sarah Boseley
Health Correspondent

THE shocking state of the health of the nation's children and young people was disclosed yesterday in a Department of Health survey. It paints a picture of overweight youngsters who take little exercise, eat sweets and snack foods, and smoke and drink to excess.

The general trends in young people's health are not good — but they are much worse in the lower social classes than in more wealthy professional families.

The Chief Medical Officer, Liam Donaldson, said yesterday that the data was further evidence of the essential links between social and economic circumstances and health.

"Looking at children is very important because of the potential for these characteristics carrying through into adult life," he said.

The report, *The Health of Young People '95-97*, is one of the most detailed studies of the health and lifestyle of children and young people. It has been compiled from data collected over three years of the annual Health Survey for England, and was commissioned by the Department of Health.

It found that a third of 16- to 24-year-olds were either overweight or obese, with more young men (23 per cent) overweight but more women (6 per cent) having reached obesity.

"It is quite a worrying picture, thinking of the future implications for their health," said Paula Frimston, clinical lecturer at the Department of Epidemiology and Public Health at University College London medical school, one of the researchers. Obesity is linked to diabetes, coronary heart disease, and other life-threatening illnesses.

There were more worries at

the other end of the scale, where about half of the 16- to 24-year-old women whose weight still said they had tried to lose the pounds, and 10 per cent of those who are underweight are dieting.

Note of this is helped by the poor diet of many children. The report shows a stark difference in the eating habits of the different social classes. Less than one-fifth of children eat the recommended levels of five portions of fruit and vegetables each day, but the children of professional families (class I) are more likely to do better than those of the managerial and technical households (class II) and so on down the social divide to unskilled manual workers' children. The scale is exactly reversed when it comes to eating biscuits, sweets, chocolates and cakes.

From the age of two to 15, both girls and boys spend less and less time engaged in physical activity outside

school, and more and more time sitting down, reading, doing homework or watching television.

Nearly a third of boys (29 per cent) and nearly half the girls (44 per cent) did not have half an hour's physical activity a week.

The report charts the dramatic take-up of smoking, which rises steeply from the age of 12. Researchers took saliva samples to detect the levels of cotinine — a substance that nicotine metabolises into in the body — to ensure smokers were being frank with them. By the age of 20-24, they found that 43 per cent of young men and 42 per cent of young women were smokers.

Among the younger children who smoked, there was no difference in social class, but the social gradient set in once the habit was established at around 16.

Young people tended to be binge drinkers. Over half the young men aged 16-24 said

they drank more than four units on at least one day a week, and a third drank more than eight units at one sitting, while 28 per cent of women drank more than three units one day a week and 13 per cent drank more

than six at a single session. Even in children's psychological health, a class divide showed up. The poorer the family, the more likely they were to report emotional and behavioural difficulties in their children.

Who do you know who'd love a Book Token?



Clinton gets an historic show of hands

continued from page 1

had sent "a powerful message, not to the government, but to the people of Israel. You will touch people on the streets there. You will reach their hearts there."

Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli prime minister, appeared to accept the decision: "It is a very important step. I welcome it. But he added: "That's not enough. There have to be acts."

For Mr Clinton, the show of hands was good enough. The assembly roared. Councillors gave him a standing ovation of an intensity that even the Democrats find it hard to muster these days. The president may be sapped by the threat of impeachment back home, but abroad he can still generate enough electricity to light up an entire nation.

"We will look back at today in the years to come and this is what we are going to remember — that President Clinton came and it was the beginning," said Almar Hmeida, aged 33, an electrician who waited since early morning on the president's

route. Hours before there was any sign of the Marine 1 helicopter, Mr Hmeida's three children had grown weary of the flags he made wave.

Inside the hall, Jihad Wazir was even more delighted. He is the son of Khalil Wazir, better known as Abu Jihad, the Palestinian guerrilla leader killed by Israeli commandos in 1988. The younger Mr Wazir is a smoothly spoken businessman who helped to organise the visit. "It went like clockwork," he said. "History was made today."

Mr Arafat is not expected to declare a Palestinian state for five months, and it is unlikely Washington will risk its relations with Israel by recognising the new entity. But one of Mr Clinton's greatest talents is his mastery of mood music, and for the Palestinians he orchestrated a symphony of empathy and solidarity from the moment Marine 1 landed.

At Gaza's new international airport Mr Clinton seemed to take almost as much pleasure as Mr Arafat in cutting the ribbon. It went so well that Mr Arafat kept on cut-



ting, slicing off samples for the president and First Lady.

The speeches later in the day were Clintonian masterpieces of the kind of verbal manipulation already familiar to the rest of the world. He said the Palestinian people "now have a chance to determine their own destiny on their own land". It stopped well short of endorsing a Palestinian right to a state but, once again, Mr Clinton had promised the moon while keeping his legal options open.

The Palestinian leadership was not in a mood to quibble. Its two objectives had been to make sure the president set foot on Palestinian territory and that he survived the day. To that end, a stifling security blanket was spread over Gaza City. No private cars were allowed in the city centre, every window overlooking the cavalcade route was checked and rechecked, and all police except members of Mr Arafat's personal security unit were deprived of their weapons.

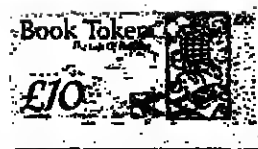
In the crowd, a 22-year-old veteran of street battles with Israeli soldiers, Haziem Said, admitted to burning US flags by the dozen during the occupation. Yesterday, he warily embraced the new era. "Yes I burned flags before, but that was when America was always supporting the Israelis," he said. "This is different. We have been given respect. I feel the start of a new Palestinian-US friendship."



Cut-price embryos, or even sperm, is not a concept that inspires a great deal of confidence; there is no way of telling what one is getting and who one is getting it from, and since the whole transaction would necessarily be illicit, there is no protection involved for the purchaser.

Hettie Judah on the trade in human gametes

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The new Book Tokens vouchers

There's nothing like the pleasure of choosing a good book and Book Tokens are the only vouchers you can buy and exchange in virtually every bookshop in the country. You can give exactly the value you want, as Book Tokens start at £1 and go up to £20. And now you can choose from a range of free colourful presentation wallets with their own detachable bookmarks.



THE GIFT OF READING

Dr. J. L. 10.15.20

Global pharmaceutical companies fulminating at move to outlaw four antibiotics routinely used as growth promoters in animal feed

Legal battle looms over EU ban on farm drugs

Stephen Bates in Brussels

THE European Union last night appeared to be on a legal collision course with pharmaceutical companies, as ministers approved a ban on four of the eight antibiotics used as growth promoters in animal feed.

The US multinational Pfizer had already threatened legal action if its product, virginiamycin, was banned, and the industry insisted yesterday that there were no serious threats to human health.

A statement issued from Pfizer's New York headquarters claimed: "The commission has not followed established procedures, has disregarded scientific analysis and has taken quotations from expert reports out of context."

"Public authorities have distorted expert reports in a way which is unfair to the makers of the animal feed antibiotic additives, to the farmers who rely on them to produce healthy food economically and to the consumers

who will ultimately bear the additional cost."

Agriculture ministers met here yesterday to discuss the ban, which could cost the chemicals industry up to £500 million a year. Twelve EU agriculture ministers, including Britain's Nick Brown, endorsed the commission proposal, with Belgium, Portugal and Spain abstaining. The ban — which Britain supports while further tests are carried out — will be phased in over six months, with the use of the antibiotics outlawed on consumer health grounds.

The eight antibiotics used in feedstuffs together represent 15 per cent of the total sold worldwide each year. The antibiotics, spiramycin, bacitracin zinc, tylosin phosphate and virginiamycin — sold as Stafac 500 by SmithKline Beecham — are produced by some of the biggest pharmaceutical companies in the world such as Pfizer and Eli Lilly. They are used in animal feed to promote rapid growth and disease resistance.

But the commission believes that traces of the anti-

biotics passed on through the food chain, particularly from pork and poultry meat products, could increase human resistance to medicines containing the drugs. However, no scientific link has been conclusively established.

Between two-thirds and four-fifths of cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry are believed to be fed antibiotics at some stage in their rearing.

It was clear last night that, even if the member states could not agree on a ban, the European Commission which proposed it will act before Christmas to impose a prohibition unilaterally.

All four products are already banned in Sweden, as are some of them in Finland and Denmark. For other member states the ban would be implemented from July 1 next year.

When hormones were banned in animal feed in the EU a decade ago there was widespread evasion and a flourishing black market in growth promoters in some countries such as Belgium.

That ban also produced a confrontation with the US

and other countries such as Australia, where hormones are allowed in animal rearing.

The Soil Association claimed the EU antibiotics decision would be an important landmark towards safer food production, but called for the ban to be extended to the four remaining antibiotics.

The association is particularly concerned that the agricultural industry may increase its use of the other antibiotics when the ban comes into force, particularly avilamycin which is used in broiler poultry production. It said it had received reports that one supermarket chain was already encouraging suppliers to switch to the drug en masse.

Its policy adviser, Richard Young, said: "There is substantial evidence that the use of these drugs on farms has led to drug resistant disease in hospitals. Antibiotics save lives and bring enormous benefits for humanity and farm animals, but we should never have squandered them just to make animals grow faster."

Intensively reared pigs like this may pass antibiotic traces through the food chain to humans PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARQUES

West affair mistakes not heeded

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

SERIOUS failings have been uncovered in child protection services in Gloucestershire, despite the county's traumatic experience in the Fred and Rose West affair.

An independent inquiry commissioned in the wake of the West horrors has concluded that national guidance has not been fully implemented in the NHS in Gloucestershire, that many health professionals are unfamiliar with the guidance and that most have received no training in identifying child sexual abuse. Working relations among care agencies were also poor. Many health staff said they found it difficult to discuss concerns with social services.

The report, by a team led by barrister David Spicer, who specialises in child protection law, says: "It is clear arrangements for child protection have not been given the status and consideration during recent years that government expects."

Care agencies were strongly criticised after the West case for failing to act on abuse and killings over a period of more than 25 years. Clear signals were said to have been missed.

The review, commissioned by Gloucestershire health authority, included assessment of the handling of 64 cases of suspected child abuse or neglect in 1995/96 — a period after the West affair.

Arms firms find export loopholes

Richard Norton-Taylor

ARMS companies are exploiting loopholes in British export controls to supply weapons to countries, including Indonesia and Sudan, with a record of internal repression and human rights abuses, an investigation by Oxfam claims.

A report published today says arms manufacturers can bypass controls by licensing the production of weapons in other countries.

It singles out Heckler & Koch, a German-based manufacturer of rifles, pistols and sub-machine guns, which was taken over by Royal Ordnance, a subsidiary of British Aerospace, in 1991.

Countries where the company's G3 rifle has been licensed for production include Iran, Burma, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Turkey. Its sub-machine guns are manufactured in Iran and Turkey.

This year, MKEK, the Turkish firm which produces Heckler & Koch weapons under licence, agreed to supply 500 sub-machine guns to the Indonesian police in a deal which the British government would have blocked, Oxfam says.

In other deals, Heckler & Koch rifles have been supplied to Sudan, probably via Iran. Last year, an Oxfam worker in Sudan found ammunition for Heckler & Koch rifles made in

Pakistan. A consignment of the company's rifles made under licence were recently shipped to Uganda, where they were used in breach of sanctions.

The report also says counter-insurgency vehicles made by Otokar, a Turkish company, in a deal with Land Rover, have been supplied to Algeria.

There is no suggestion that the companies involved acted illegally in any way.

Controls are also avoided by arms brokers and private security companies arranging deals where weapons never pass through Britain, it says.

This was the case with Sandline, the company at the heart of arms to Sierra Leone affair and Mil-Tech, an Isle of Man based firm, which arranged the sale of weapons in 1994 to Rwanda, then embroiled in a genocidal conflict.

Oxfam's investigation also points to the inadequacy of controls over end user certificates. Last May, a cargo of military equipment was transported from Belgium to Kent International Airport and loaded on a plane without any checks. The plane eventually landed in South Africa with nothing on board.

A spokesman for Heckler & Koch said yesterday that the company's licence agreements were scrutinised by Whitehall. The Department of Trade and Industry said it had no control over deals negotiated by third countries.

Blair and Hague trade insults over summit

Michael White, Political Editor

TONY Blair yesterday insisted that Labour's agenda for reform of the European Union had gained ground at the EU's weekend summit in Vienna, but was accused by William Hague of selling out Britain's national interest.

In a flurry of abuse the Conservative leader accused Mr Blair of being a spineless and two-faced whiner, more concerned with his media image than with the substantial issues. For his part Mr Blair proclaimed that in the shadow cabinet the "head-bangers" and "lunatics" have "taken over the asylum" on European policy.

The Prime Minister cited a list of EU reviews, on long-term unemployment, skills training, and social exclusion which all gave a Blairite ring to the summit. "Jobs remain Europe's top priority. The strategy developed over the last 18 months is beginning to bear fruit, with over one million jobs created in the EU last year," he said.

Mr Hague, who paid a weekend visit to Vienna for talks with centre-right colleagues, got his retaliation in first yesterday at a press conference where he accused Labour of "going with the flow" of integration, despite Mr Blair's assurances to the contrary.

He cited the end-of-summit communiqué for stating — in its first sentence — that "European integration has gained new momentum". Mr Blair had failed three crucial tests: to make Europe flexible, not regulated, to make enlargement to the south and east the EU's priority; and to make clear "the limits of political integration", he said.

At yesterday's briefing Francis Maude and Michael Howard, the Tory Treasury and foreign affairs spokesmen, weighed in with a mixture of detailed quotation from the summit communiqué and media reports to prove that Germany, France and other leading EU players are adamant that greater co-ordination of economic policy — including tax — is bound to follow the arrival of the euro.

"No amount of media spin will hide the fact that as a direct result of Tony Blair's failure of leadership Britain now faces the greatest threat to its independence for decades," declared Mr Hague.

In a significant Commons exchange with his own, broadly supportive backbenches, Mr Blair was told by leftwinger, Harry Barnes, that all integration would be acceptable provided the "democratic deficit" is addressed within Europe. The Prime Minister conceded a dilemma: he wanted to see "as much democracy in the EU as

William Hague accusing Labour at a press conference yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: DYLAN MARTINEZ

possible consistent with national governments still having a role to play".

While most people wanted to proceed cautiously over issues like tax harmonisation, they must also remember that "the governments of the EU are themselves democratically elected. When they come together to negotiate they do so on a democratic basis", Mr Blair said.

The "reasoned amendment" voices the Opposition's view that closed lists are undemocratic because they "end the historic right of the British people to choose the candidates they wish to be elected".

One Lords observer said last night: "Carrying on this debate according to its original timetable would have bored the House rigid and the Tories would have had a lot of hiccups."

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Boating tragedy 'ripped heart' from community

Gerard Seenan

THE mother of the only survivor of the Iona boating accident yesterday said the incident had ripped the heart from the 88-strong community.

Helen Grant, mother of 33-year-old Gordon Grant who is recovering from hypothermia in Oban hospital, said the whole island felt the pain of the Christmas outing which ended in disaster.

"We are a famous island but not a famous people and we would give anything not to have this situation. I am the lucky one — my son is the one who survived but you have to understand that I felt like a mother to these other boys as well. It is a great pain we all feel. These boys were the future for this island and we have now lost that," she said.

The search for Logie MacFadyen, 24, Alisdair Dougal, 19, and David Kirkpatrick, 28, all from the island, began on Sunday morning after Mr Grant swam to shore on Mull and raised the alarm. Mr Grant managed to swim back to the tiny village of Fionnphort after the dinghy sank in rough seas.

The body of their friend Robert Hay, 23, was later found washed up on the coast of Mull. Coastguards say there is little hope of finding anyone else alive.

At first light yesterday morning the small population of Iona mobilised itself in the hunt for the bodies. They searched the shoreline before boarding the ferry to cross the Sound of Iona where they linked up with the coastguard search.

Mrs Grant said no outsider could ever understand what it was like for Iona to lose so many young men.

"We are all absolutely stunned and there is total disbelief that this has happened," said islander Jeff Minter, aged 46. "There are so few young people here and they were such a lively group."

Last night Mull coastguard was extending its search eastwards, following prevailing tides. Throughout the day police and coastguard helicopters scanned the Sound of Iona, while the police divers searched in the shallows along the island's rocky outcrops.

The boating tragedy happened on Sunday morning when the five men took a dinghy back home to Iona after attending a Christmas dinner dance on nearby Mull. As the group was crossing the narrow Sound which separates the two islands, a heavy swell waterlogged the vessel and it sank.

Yesterday a small group of islanders stood on the coastline waiting for news of the men despite fears for the worst.

McDonald's scraps plastic spoons used by drug dealers

Gerard Seenan

THE McDonald's fast food chain has withdrawn plastic spoons after it emerged that drug dealers were using them to measure out heroin deals.

Detectives in Edinburgh found the spoons in the homes of suspected drug dealers during a series of raids last week. Each spoon holds exactly 100mg of powder.

McDonald's replaced the spoons with flat stirrers after police across the country said dealers were using them to measure heroin and other substances, such as glucose, which they use to dilute the drug. The spoons mean they

do not have to keep scales, a sign of dealing often used as evidence in court.

A spokeswoman for Lothian and Borders police, which made the discovery, said spoons found in the homes of suspected drug dealers were taken as evidence.

A McDonald's spokesman said: "There was a design change a few months ago, and use by drug dealers was one of the issues we were looking at after consultation with the police."

Lothian and Borders police seized almost £900,000 worth of drugs and cash, as well as guns and stolen property, when they raided about 250 homes last week in Operation Foil.

BUILDING SOCIETIES ACT 1986

Notice under paragraph 7 of Schedule 17 to the Act

Notice is hereby given that Birmingham Midshires Building Society, Register No. 7380, whose principal office is at Pendeford Business Park, Wobaston Road, Wolverhampton WV9 5HZ, desires to transfer its business in Halifax plc, and that the society has applied to the Building Societies Commission to confirm the transfer.

Any interested party may make written representations to the Commission and/or give notice of intention to make oral representations to the Commission with respect to the application. Written representations and notices of intention to make oral representations should be received by the Commission, at Victoria House, 30-34 Kingsway, London WC2B 6ES by 22 January 1999. Oral representations will be heard by the Commission on 23 February 1999 at a time and place to be determined by the Commission.

OFFICIAL COPY

Amelia Gentleman

Commander Paddy Tomkins, of the Mersey police, said the man was a risk, but he was not yet prepared to get thrill from attacking in exposed places. On occasion, he has threatened his victims with violence if they contacted the police.

Cdr Tomkins said: "The offences are likely to become even more serious than those committed so far — his confidence appears to be growing."

The offences linked are:

- A serious sexual assault on two schoolgirls, aged 14 and 15, in woodland at the Mount in Rayleigh, Essex, at 5pm on August 12, 1997.

1. Hingham Neck
Tuesday 10/05/98

2. Mt. Joy's Wood Neck
Sunday 10/05/98

3. Nahkone Park
Tuesday 10/05/98

4. Kennebunk Town Neck
Saturday 10/05/98

5. Bethel Green, ME
Wednesday 10/05/98

6. Sheepscot River, Sheepscot
Sunday 10/05/98

7. Sheepscot River, Sheepscot
Sunday 10/05/98

8. Sheepscot River, Sheepscot
Sunday 10/05/98

9. Sheepscot River, Sheepscot
Sunday 10/05/98

There are more victims who have not yet come forward.

"There are significant gaps in the chronology but because we have a lot of information, the offender there is a high probability that there are people out there who have been so terrified and traumatised that they feel they can't go to the police," Cdr Tomkins said.

Detective Serial Superintendent David Saxson, of West Yorkshire Police, said: "Operation Monarch, said: "Detailed analysis and investigation has revealed strong links between these 10 offences in terms of the suspects' speech patterns, behaviour and the duration and method of attack."

Detectives said there were some scientific factors to link the attacks, but added the suspect appeared to know how to frustrate forensic scientists.

The suspect is a white, possibly banned, man aged between 20 and 30, of medium build, and about 5ft 8in to 5ft 10in tall. He has short brown hair, sometimes described as wavy on top, and speaks with

Martin Walnerlecht

THE WAR of Sir Bernard Ingham's bungled, low escalated sharply yesterday, as neighbours of Lady Thatcher's former press secretary divided into increasingly acerbic camps.

Normally hidden tensions in Monahan Avenue, Purley erupted after the cantankerous Yorkshireman was arrested and interviewed by police, while the next door family at Nutcracker Gables issued a pained statement about his alleged kicking of

Pro-Ingham locals in the Surrey commuter belt united behind "a good neighbour" campaign to help Ingham. The group will walk in Neighbourhood Watch circles and generally an ornament to the district.

But builder Barry Cripps, whose extension, vivid Wendy house and sauna have previously infuriated the neighbours, is not at an angry and overbearing presence on the other side of a thin dividing line of shrubs.

"Sir Bernard's overbearing behaviour over a number of years has now culminated in a letter from the council in which he kicked and threatened the door of the Cripps' car," the family protested in a statement read to journalists by another neighbour.

60-year-old Mervyn Toogood, who lives next door to Sir Bernard's, says the continuing behaviour appears to be the fact that Sir Bernard's court action over a boundary dispute two years ago collapsed on the first day of trial.

The short-fused Inghams, who has acknowledged that his temper "goes up and down

Helen Carter

THE parents of a boy left severely brain damaged after a capital mix-up over blood for a transfusion were seeking a multi-million pound payout - at the High Court yesterday.

The boy, now aged six, needed a transfusion for jaundice, and four days after his birth in March 1982 at the Princess Alexandra hospital in Harlow, Essex, he received the wrong type of blood. Instead, O Rhesus positive. The blood he was given had been intended for another baby with the same surname.

As a result James suffered convulsions, heart failure and acute haemolysis. His counsel, Mr Thomas QC, told the court: "The O was 'O' for 'O' - the tragic consequence was serious and permanent brain damage."

Dudley and Patricia Green, of Stambourne, are seeking damages from North Essex health authority on behalf of their son. "James cannot walk, cannot stand without support and can do no other for himself," Mr Thomas told the court.

"I particularly feel responsible for what happened in the first place, and feel I have a duty to make amends," he described the family's hard-to-mourn existence. "We are just trying to survive and have been for seven years."

The health authority admitted liability in the case in August 1984, but the sum claimed by the family. However, there is still a dispute over James's care regime, centring on the cost of his education and the type of hydrotherapy pool should be built at his home.

The hearing continues today.

Sir Bernard Ingham: claims row is 'neither here nor there'

in seconds", was saying nothing yesterday after brief comments following his arrest.

After leaving Croydon police station, he described Mr Cripps as "an extremely troublesome neighbour" who had driven over his [Ingham] house to reach a rear garage at Nutcracker Lane, "knowing that this was trespass."

Sir Bernard, getting used to the Pinocchio-like indignity of being described in Surrey police bulletins as "a 68-year-old man arrested in connection with illegal dog exercise charges", said that he had remonstrated with Mr Cripps who had then blocked the entrance to his garage. He said: "Mr Cripps then called the police and I gave them a statement. It is neither here nor there."

He was backed by a straw poll of Monabank Avenue neighbours, who recalled that the dog was running from 1992-96 over Nutcracker Gables' expansion, and the stubborn but ultimately vain resistance of Yorkshire-born Sir Bernard.

One described the former Mayor of New and his wife, Nancy, as "good friends and good neighbours", while another said the Inghams were "well-liked and good people."

Mr Cripps and his wife Joan, who have lived in the house for 20 years, have personalised number plates, poured scorn on his description, according to Mr Toogood, a marketing consultant who lives across the road from the warring households. "It's a waste of time," he said. "Croydon council was produced to back their statement, apologising for 'unnecessary and unjustifiable actions' taken against the various Ingham-anthology-developers in the east."

Sir Bernard has been pulled to return to Croydon police station in February, pending the outcome of a report to the Crown Prosecution Service. He is also expected to return to the fray.

A former Guardian reporter, Labour council candidate and lover of the phrase "balderdash and bunkum", Ingham has a reputation for coming up with a problem or enquiry until resistance is crushed.

He played a central part in a "nimby" (not in my back yard) struggle five years ago when he proposed installing wind turbines above his native town of Hebdin Bridge in the West Yorkshire Pennines, beside which suburban rights of way and Wensleydale pale.

Ingham and man next door, **CD, page 5**

Ingham and man next door,
Q2, page 5

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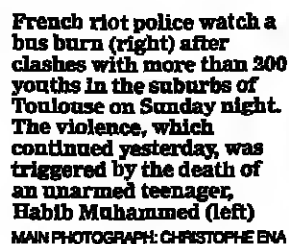
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up six banks and robbed 20 different shops.

Violence between police and gangs of youths — many of them French-born children of North African Arab immigrants living in poor areas — has become increasingly common in France.

According to government statistics, incidents of urban violence have risen from just over 3,000 in 1992 to nearly 16,000 last year, while reports of attacks on policemen have surged by 25 per cent in a year.

entity in the north and east, green for the Muslims in the centre and a new blue in the south-west to mark what is a Croat entity in all but name.

China - the demands of "socialist morality" ensured that sexual activity was largely limited to married couples. Tourists were isolated from the population and prostitution was unknown.

STDs were almost unknown until 20 years ago. In Maoist China the demands of "socialist morality" ensured that sexual activity was largely limited to married couples. Tourists were isolated from the population and prostitution was unknown.

د. محمد صالح المنجد

US president turns show of hands into momentous occasion as Palestinians revoke call for end of Israel

Clinton works peacemaking magic

David Sharrock
in Jerusalem

A SHOW of hands yesterday laid to rest the Palestinian goal of destroying Israel. In a gesture witnessed and applauded by President Bill Clinton as a historic moment in Middle East peacemaking.

Drama had dogged the vexed issue of the 34-year-old Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) charter and its destructive clauses up to the last minute. How would the Palestinian Authority president, Yasser Arafat, yield to an Israeli demand which in Palestinian eyes was just another humiliation?

In the end it was the first slitting of US president to visit the Palestinian territories who turned an awkward and abrupt gesture, buried and buried, into a historic moment.

pledging state's elite, into something far more noble than a head-count. Out of a party trick, Mr Clinton created a moment of pure peacemaking magic.

Four times he thanked the members of the Palestine National Council for raising their hands, "standing tall and rejecting 'fully, finally and forever' the ideological underpinning of the Arab-Israeli conflict."

"This moment would have been inconceivable a decade ago... You have come to this point through a commitment to peace and negotiations. You reaffirmed that commitment today."

Acknowledging the difficulties they have faced in making peace with Israel, Mr Clinton praised Mr Arafat for his perseverance in the past five years, "because in all the tough times since, when in your own mind you had a hum-

Scandal beats statesmanship in news stakes

Martin Kettle in Washington

ALTHOUGH BILL Clinton is grappling with the stalled Middle East peace process, the travelling United States press corps remains preoccupied with the upcoming impeachment battle in Congress, which takes place less than 48 hours after Mr Clinton's return tonight.

Asked again about the crisis yesterday as he arrived in Gaza, he responded: "I've said what I've said about this. I don't believe it's in the interest of the United States and the American people to go through the impeachment process and have a trial in the Senate."

"That's why I have offered to make every compromise with Congress."

Later, in a brief exchange with White House reporters, he said: "I have offered to make every effort to make any reasonable compromise with the Congress, and I still believe that. I'm still willing to do that."

Presidential aides continued to work the phones in Washington all day yesterday, making it clear that they and Mr Clinton's

lawyers were available for private conversations with wavering members of Congress.

Meanwhile, a headline in the Washington Post read: "Scandal shadows a weary president."

Above it was a picture showing a tired-looking President Clinton answering yet another scandal-related question from a travelling reporter.

interim period next May, Mr Arafat did renew his call for a Palestinian state with its capital in Jerusalem.

As for the 2,400 prisoners in Israeli jails — whose continued incarceration has sparked the worst violence on the West Bank in years — Mr Arafat said simply: "We would like our sons and our boys to come back home. They are the ones who struggled for the peace process since its inception."

Israel has so far released 250 of the 750 prisoners it promised to free under the Wye land-for-security agreement, but many of them are ordinary criminals, not political prisoners.

It was also anticipated that the next handover of land to the Palestinians, due later this week, would also be discussed. Mr Netanyahu is facing a no-confidence motion in the Israeli parliament on Monday which might finish off his coalition government. A handover of land before that vote, as stipulated in the Wye agreement, would doubtless swing the far right, on which he relies, against him.

Palestinians clearly feel that Mr Clinton's visit has been in their interests. Uri Savir, the former director-general of Israel's foreign ministry who helped negotiate the Oslo accords in 1993, said Mr Clinton's visit would advance both peace and Palestinian hopes for independence.

"Today's date will go down in history as the day the United States gave de facto recognition of a Palestinian state," he said.

Puerto Ricans reject joining States

Martin Kettle in Washington

PUERTO RICO'S chances of becoming the 51st state of the United States receded sharply after a majority of the Caribbean island's voters failed to support a claim for statehood in a weekend referendum.

Only 46.5 per cent voted for US statehood, the same share as in the previous non-binding referendum in 1993. The referendum gave Puerto Rico's 2.2 million voters four choices for the status of their island, which is currently a self-governing "commonwealth" under US rule.

Although the voters were also able to opt for two forms of independence and a disputed definition of the existing commonwealth status, 50.2 per cent of votes went to "none of the above" — which most observers are treating as a vote of confidence in the status quo. Seventy-one per cent of the electorate took part in the referendum.

"We have gone to the ballot boxes and said 'No, this country is ours'," Sila Calderon, the mayor of the capital San Juan said as the results were declared. "We continue being Puerto Ricans forever. We want to live as Puerto Ricans and die as Puerto Ricans."

Mr Calderon has been a leading campaigner in the effort to keep the island's current status, defending its Spanish language and culture against Americanisation and the imposition of English as its first language.

The vote is a major blow to Puerto Rico's governor, Pedro



A Puerto Rican holds the national flag during a rally held in San Juan on Sunday following the weekend referendum

PHOTOGRAPH: ROBERTO SCHMIDT

Rossello, who campaigned strongly for US statehood. However, Mr Rossello claimed the defeat as a victory, arguing that the "none of the above" votes were abstentions.

"Today the people spoke and they said statehood is the future of Puerto Rico," Mr

Rossello said. "In my interpretation this is a victory for statehood." He said he would petition the US Congress to make Puerto Rico a state.

That looks like an uphill task after a majority voted for the current semi-colonial relationship in which Puerto Ri-

cans pay no taxes to Washington while receiving \$10 billion (\$2 billion) a year in aid. The average per capita income on the island is \$8,000 per annum, approximately half that of the poorest US state, Mississippi.

President Bill Clinton had earlier asked Congress to

abide by the result of the poll, but the referendum is unlikely to encourage Washington to make the issue a priority. The Republican Senate leader, Trent Lott, has opposed Puerto Rican statehood.

"If they go to Washington to petition for statehood, they

would be violating the right to vote of the majority," the pro-commonwealth senator Rudolph Baez Gallo said yesterday.

If Puerto Rico became the 51st state, it would rank 49th in size but with its population of 3.8 million would be enti-

pled to six Congress members and two senators.

The District of Columbia is the new front-runner in the race to become the 51st US state. But that is a long shot in a Republican-dominated Congress, given the district's Democratic voting record.

News in brief

Indian bill backs women

THE Indian government introduced controversial legislation yesterday which proposes setting aside for women a third of the seats in parliament and the state legislatures.

Ministers hailed the bill as a victory for democracy, but it drew noisy protests from MPs angry that it did not reserve seats for Muslims and women from disadvantaged communities. — Reuters, New Delhi.

DNA exhibit in Anwar trial

MALAYSIA's sex and corruption trial of the former deputy

prime minister, Anwar Ibrahim, took a sensational turn into a street on the edge of Amsterdam's red-light district late on Sunday night.

In the argument that followed, the cyclist stabbed the 25-year-old driver in the chest. — Agencies, Amsterdam.

Lightning hits earl's home

LIGHTNING struck the luxury South African home of Earl Spencer yesterday setting fire to the house and causing serious damage, local radio said. No one was injured.

Cape Talk radio quoted the earl's spokeswoman as saying the brother of the late Princess of Wales and his four children had escaped unharmed. — Reuters, Cape Town.

Germans demand Stasi spy files from CIA

Jan Traynor in Bonn

GERMANY and the United States are at loggerheads over what is believed to be the greatest intelligence coup of the last days of the cold war, with Bonn demanding that the CIA returns thousands of East German secret service files spirited out of East Berlin in 1960.

The files, taken from the former East German foreign intelligence service, are said to contain the names of 13,000 Stasi spies. They were bought secretly by the Americans in 1989 and 1990, in the chaotic months before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Bonn has been trying, with increasing frustration, to recover the records. The files were compiled by the Stasi's

foreign espionage service, which was headed by the legendary spy-master Markus Wolf. Much of the material had been hidden outside East Berlin before the wall fell.

CIA agents are said to have offered the East Germans hundreds of thousands of dollars for the papers in an operation codenamed Rosewood.

The German government told Washington last week that it was "unacceptable for the German authorities to have no idea of the scope and nature" of the files' contents.

But in recent years the CIA has allowed German colleagues to see some of the files relevant to trials being held in Germany. The material in the files has also been used as evidence in several US espionage trials, according to a recent re-

port in the Washington Post. But the new German government of Chancellor Gerhard Schröder has indicated a more assertive stance with the

More than 1,000 ex-Stasi agents can't be identified without the files

dispatch to Washington earlier this month of Peter Frisch, the head of counter-intelligence. He lobbied for the return of the files "to German ownership and German right of disposal" and met George Tenet, the CIA director.

Bonn has said that it is un-

acceptable to be kept in the dark about — potentially — thousands of former East German agents working in the reunited Germany.

Ernst Uhrlau, a former Hamburg policeman who has been appointed Mr Schröder's intelligence co-ordinator, said that Bonn was being prevented from obtaining an accurate picture of the scale of the problem posed by ex-spies.

The documents, amounting to the complete record of Communist East Germany's foreign agents, are also certain to include details of people who worked for the Stasi in the West, including Britain.

It is assumed that Russian intelligence has the information contained in the documents because the KGB would have been informed of the

Stasi's intelligence activities.

The Christian Democratic opposition, which was in power when the CIA acquired the files, has complained that more than 1,000 ex-Stasi agents could not be identified without access to the files.

Last month a group of former East German dissidents wrote to the US embassy warning that lack of access to the documents constituted "a destabilisation of German democracy" because many former spies remained in key positions throughout society.

While former East German spies can no longer be tried after a ruling by Germany's constitutional court two years ago, West Germans who worked for the Stasi — there were an estimated 600 — can be tried for treason.

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Comment

Diary

Matthew Norman

MASTERLY government planning to defeat the millennium bug goes from strength to strength. Already, it has recruited hundreds of special programmers when according to its own official estimates thousands are required, while its own task force Action 2000 has now advised us all to hoard food this time next year. No need to panic then, albeit that some of the insurance companies seem not to share the Diary's optimism that all will be well. Gerry Moore writes from Flintshire in Wales to report receiving the annual reminder about home and contents insurance from the Halifax and with it a leaflet entitled: "Insurance — date change and computer viruses policy exclusion". This announces an extra exclusion clause inserted to "cover liability following the failure of equipment to recognise data representing the Year 2000". By the way, the insurance period is noted as "1st January 1999 to 1st January 1900". Don't panic, don't panic...

THE embryo of a Jack Straw leech has been noted. Jack was chatting at a party about his Pinochet decision. It was, he said, not quite as difficult as people imagine. "There were only two options, yes or no," Jack explained. "But no third way". Openly challenging Mr Tony's intellectual brainchild — one widely accepted as the most significant development in political philosophy since Mr Major's Coney Island — is a clear statement of intent. Watch out, Jack. These are dangerous waters.

MY attention is drawn to an anti-gay rant by a Speaker in a house bulletin of the BNP. The author is John Tyndall, whose long career in comical far right-wing politics stretches back to a spell leading the National Front. Now a leader of the BNP, Tyndall's polemic, which at times, to his credit, borders on the semi-literate — centres on his reversion for homosexuals, most notably those in the Cabinet, to an ancient and biblical injunction entitled "Mandy in the party", there is even a picture of Mandy Mandelson — the one below, in fact, taken in my kitchen the night the Trade Secretary invited himself to dinner — which Spearhead plithily captions: "Mandy and a close friend".

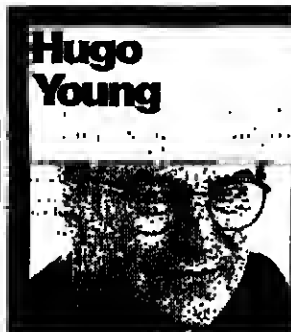


THE self-effacement of the Jerwood Foundation, which recently failed to bully the Royal Court to which it has donated £3 million into changing its name to the Royal Jerwood, continues to impress. As Pass Notes has reported, we have a Jerwood Award for educational theory, a Jerwood painting prize, a Jerwood Gallery at the Natural History Museum and, not least, the Guardian Jerwood Award for charity workers. So what the world would seem to need most at the moment is more Jerwoods... and the winter newsletter from New Labour's favourite PR firm Robb-barn Macaulay has the happy news. There is now, it reports, a Jerwood Library at Trinity Hall, Cambridge; a Jerwood Sculpture Park at Witley Park in Worcester; and — hurrah! — something called the Jerwood Space in Southwark. By next week, if the price is right, there will be the Jerwood Guardian Diary too.

IAM pleased to announce that the Christmas card from Demos has arrived. Sadly, this year that well-loved think tank cannot afford the stamps, and the envelope is franked with the message "to pay 40p". Also enclosed, meanwhile, is a change of address card announcing Demos's move to the Haymarket, hardly the cheapest address in central London. Glad to be subsidising such smart new offices.



The folly, negligence and lack of judgment of the brilliant Hoffmann



Hugo Young

THREE weeks ago, the case of General Pinochet propelled the British judiciary to the pinnacle of global admiration. By ruling that the former Chilean dictator enjoyed no immunity in these courts, the law lords struck a massive, possibly uncharacteristic, certainly unexpected, blow for the primacy of international standards of human rights.

Today this triumph is in peril of disintegrating, with consequences not only for Pinochet and international law, but for the reputation, and even the future potency, of Britain's final court. Through the folly of a single judge, the law lords, from being the heroes, may soon become the villains.

They must decide this matter themselves, which makes their predicament no more comfortable. Five of them convene this morning to hear a petition from Pinochet's lawyers that the earlier judgment was polluted by bias. Lord Hoffmann's wife, it turned out, works for Amnesty International, which was admitted as a party to the Pinochet case, and Lord Hoffmann himself sits on a connected charity.

Lord Hoffmann gave the final vote on November 25 that swung the court 3-2 against the claim to immunity which would have sent Pinochet back to Chile.

On the face of it, this should not matter. If every judge were disbarred for his leisure interests, not to mention his wife's work, the court system would seize up tomorrow. Every law lord has spent a lifetime learning true objectivity. But Lord Hoffmann failed to declare his connection, even when Amnesty was admitted as a party to the case. Convention said he

should have done so; practice suggests that an objection would have been unlikely.

But the appearance of bias, not proof of actual bias, is enough to poison due process: an austere position, but one laid down by the Lords (R v Gough, 1993) and endorsed in the European Court of Human Rights. Hoffmann's negligence exposes the Pinochet court to having its opinion nullified. If that happens, several roads will fall in.

Re-opening the case at all is very dangerous for the Lords. Such a thing has never been done before. It's a measure of the seriousness with which any vestige of bias is regarded that other law lords — there are 12 in all — led by Lord Browne-Wilkinson, the senior, should have decided to hear Pinochet's petition.

The five who hear it will be different from the November five. If they judge bias to have been apparent enough, the case will have to be re-heard. But by whom? The previous court, but with Hoffmann replaced? Unlikely. This would reduce the hearing to a battle for the mind of a single judge. If not, what permanent legal status attaches to the opinions of Lords Slynn and Lloyd, who found for Pinochet last month, let alone those of Lords Steyn and Nicholls, who won the day for international law?

A new panel could easily come to the opposite result. Another grotesque confusion. Some observers, looking at the temperamental make-up of the bench Lord Chancellor Irvine is fashioning, would place no bets on another three law lords agreeing with Steyn and Nicholls.

The central point was and is a fine one. Pinochet could hope once again to be on the

plane, and the inconvenient triumph of the judiciary would be replaced by the relief of politicians to be absolved of the consequences of Senator Pinochet.

Whatever now happens, these scenarios throw open the absurdity of the House of Lords court, in that sense, the episode is timely. As the Scottish and other devolution structures heave into view, constitutional disputes will come for judgment, but the Government has resisted converting the Lords into a court of final appeal, free of the mixture of caprice and political bias that is occasionally seen to affect the perming of any five out of the 12 to be assigned to particular cases.

If five different judges decide Pinochet the other way, it would drive home as nothing has before the strangeness of the Lords' claim, on the one hand, to be the font of final justice, yet the evident fact, on the other, that there's no such thing as a declaration of law free from human folly.

RESISTING a constitutional court, with a fixed number of judges, the Government invokes the familiar British bluff: the wisdom of this age-old middle of unblatant Lord Chancellor, the ex-officio credibility of law lords surviving their random selection, the reliable supremacy of judgment over system. Will anyone believe that quite so surely again, whichever way the Pinochet case goes?

The potential shredding of a court's status, and the early destruction of its venture into political courage, may be a heavy burden to lay on Lord Hoffmann. But he does seem to lack judgment. This isn't

the first time he's shown it. A few years ago, he lurked, unwisely, in the corridors of the Scott Inquiry. In 1993, he allowed himself to be used as a pawn by the then Lord Chancellor Mackay in the intensely political manipulation of the 1993 Bill of Rights, in order to help Neil Hamilton off the hook.

Every lawyer I know says he is a brilliant man, though hardly the consistent liberal the right-wing press labelled him, when seeking to explain away the November judgment as an aberrant imposition on English law by South African law.

Now, having remained silent, except for his vote, on the day of judgment in November — did his Amnesty connection embarrass him into keeping quiet? — he has placed an unconscionable weight on his brethren to save their court.

Will they succeed? Lord Browne-Wilkinson, presiding, will be aware of the worst case, but may be hard put to avoid it. Their lordships will not want to prolong the hearing. In the end they have to make a very awkward choice. The least damaging would be to uphold Hoffmann's role, perhaps by finding that his connection with Amnesty, while not very public, was known to lawyers on the other side.

But British law's cultural tradition against even a tincture of bias is profound. There will be voices to assert it. A complete re-hearing would lead to chaos. A tempting alternative might be to subvert Hoffmann from November's 3-2. But that would make nonsense too. A 2-2 split would restore the judgment of the lower court, and see the General back to Chile in short order.

Astonishing new report shows that poverty is a Bad Thing

It makes you sick

Paul Foot

IN 1977, a Labour Health Minister set up an inquiry into health inequalities. The chairman was Sir Douglas Black, just retired as chief scientist at the Department of Health.

After long research, Sir Douglas reported that poor people were much more likely than rich people to get sick. One of the main reasons for this discrepancy, he revealed, was that poor people didn't have enough money.

Sir Douglas complained that the chief victims of this inequality were children. Although many mothers went without food to feed their children, millions of children were, as a direct result of poverty, systematically deprived of the basic essentials for good health.

He recommended as a priority that social security benefits and pensions should be high enough to ensure better health for the poor, and pointed out gently and mainly by implication that the easiest way to pay for it is higher taxes on the rich.

It was bad luck for Sir Douglas that his report wasn't published until 1980. A Tory government had just taken office, resolved to strike out for the high ground of inequality.

The new Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, passionately believed that one of the most serious social problems facing the British people was excessive taxation of the rich. The obvious remedy, she concluded, was to enrich the rich so that some of their increased fortunes could trickle down to the poor. All social policy was bent to this purpose. Welfare benefits were trimmed and pensions cut loose from earnings. Sir Douglas Black's report was an embarrassing embarrassment. After the usual unctuous expressions of official gratitude, it was consigned to the rubbish bin.

IN 1997, almost exactly 20 years after the Black report was commissioned, a Labour Health Minister set up an inquiry into health inequalities. The chairman was Sir Donald Acheson, just retired as chief medical officer at the Department of Health.

After long research, Sir Donald reports that poor people are much more likely than rich people to get sick. One of the main reasons for this discrepancy, he reveals, is that poor people don't have enough money. He says that the chief victims of this in-

equality are children. Although many mothers go without food to feed their children, millions of children are, as a direct result of poverty, systematically deprived of the basic essentials for good health.

The only real difference between Sir Donald and Sir Douglas is that after 20 years of "trickling down", the health inequalities in Britain are much worse. Sir Donald puts it boldly. "Average incomes grew in real terms by 40 per cent between 1979 and 1994-95, but this growth was far greater (80-85 per cent) amongst the richest tenth of the population."

"For the poorest tenth, average income increased by only 10 per cent (before housing costs) and fell by eight per cent (after them)."

Sir Donald recommends that social security benefits and pensions should be high enough to ensure better health for the poor, and points out gently and mainly by implication that the easiest way to pay for it is higher taxes on the rich.

It is bad luck for Sir Donald that today's Prime Minister passionately believes that one of the most serious social problems facing the British people is excessive taxation of the rich. The obvious remedy, he concludes, is to enrich the rich so that some of their increased fortunes can trickle down to the poor.

All social policy, it seems, is bent to that purpose. Benefits are slashed and pensions kept firmly divorced from

After 20 years of trickling down, inequalities are even worse

earnings. The usual unctuous expressions of gratitude are ominous. This report is heading the same way as its luckless predecessor.

IN EVERY day, it seems, a first-rate journalist is sacked by the BBC. Isabel Hilton was sacked the other day as a World Tonight presenter. She consistently failed to show even a trace of the two qualities most required of BBC interviewers: nervousness, deference and ignorance. She had to go.

Last week, Chris Dunkley was sacked from his long-standing job of presenting the reaction of BBC listeners. His problem was not just humour and style. Sometimes he even dared to suggest that BBC bosses can be wrong. He had to go.

I nominate James Boyle, Radio 4 Controller as the man who has done more than anyone else in BBC history to drag the BBC into the journalistic gutter.

Sorry, that's not strong enough. Let me try it another way. He's the obvious candidate to succeed John Birt.

Four heads lying by a Grozny roadside showed that the collapse of government is now the biggest threat to human rights

State of anarchy

John Gray

THE four British engineers whose decapitated bodies were recently found by the roadside near Grozny are casualties of a development that extends beyond the frontiers of the lawless republic of Chechnya. The breakdown of states is now a major threat to human rights.

In many places, the modern state has collapsed. In countries as different as Afghanistan, Colombia and Albania, in the Russian Federation and Africa, the prevailing condition is akin to anarchy.

Liberal opinion remains shaped by a political outlook in which repressive states are the chief threat to human rights. Yet the anarchy that follows in the wake of collapsed states can be as great a threat to

liberal values as the oppressive states of the past. The dark history of this century goes a long way towards explaining why the state has been demonised. Neither the Holocaust nor the Gulag could have occurred in the absence of modern state machinery.

Most of those who died by violence in the 20th century were killed by the agents of states. From the First World War onwards, the greatest blood-lettings occurred because of war between states or state-imposed terror. It seems reasonable to conclude that reigning in the state should be the first priority of anyone who cares about human rights.

Yet that is a view far removed from the realities of the post-cold war world. Today, most wars are not fought by the agents of states. They are waged by irregular armies, tribal or

ethnic militias or political organisations. True, some wars, such as the Gulf War, can be fought only by states. Even so, in many places, the power that once defined the modern state — its monopoly over organised violence — has gone.

Not only do states no longer have that control, in

Free market greed brought about the disaster of modern Russia

much of the world they can no longer enforce peace — or prevent the most serious violations. Some of the worst of the past decade occurred in circumstances where the state was fracturing or had disintegrated. Ethnic massa-

ces in Bosnia and Rwanda were not the work of powerful centralised states like those in Nazi Germany or Stalinist Russia. They were acts of genocidal violence committed by forces over which no state had much leverage.

The attacks on the Chinese minority in Indonesia over the past few months may have been politically encouraged, but they occurred in a context in which law and order had already broken down.

In cases like these, violations of human rights occur not because the state is too powerful, but because it has lost control.

In many parts of the world the weakness of the state has been aggravated by the cult of the free market. Market fundamentalism sees government as the problem and markets as the solution. Animated by this primitive creed, the West

has tried to force the governments of developing countries to dismantle controls over their economies.

The results of such policies can be seen in Russia. For the first time in modern peacetime history, a major European state has

collapsed into anarchy. Perhaps because the problems posed by collapsed states are so daunting, it is hard to break habits of thinking in which the state has been demonised. To be sure, the power of the state still needs curbing, not

only in countries such as China and Iran, but also in Britain.

That is why the Government was right to incorporate the European Convention on Human Rights into British law — and why this country still needs legislation on freedom of information and privacy.

We need to make governments more accountable to their citizens. Yet the power of the state is not today the principal enemy of human freedom. Without a strong, modern state to protect them, no human rights are safe. The world is littered with collapsed states in which life and liberty count for nothing.

That is the lesson of the four heads found in a sack on a road outside Grozny.

False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism, by Prof John Gray, is published by Granta, £9.99.



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Lords' dread challenge

It goes beyond Pinochet

TODAY the Law Lords will face a challenge that must fill them with dread. They will be asked by lawyers for Augusto Pinochet to overturn their own ruling that deemed the former dictator as vulnerable to prosecution as anyone else, since his past service as Chile's head of state afforded him no immunity. The challenge centres on Lord Hoffmann, whose decisive vote kept the Santiago One in Britain: the judge failed to disclose his links to Amnesty International, even though that organisation was a party to the case. That was a bad mistake, one that could end up undoing the Law Lords' wise judgment and allowing the General to evade justice. But as Hugo Young explains on the opposite page, this is also a grave moment for Britain's highest bench — one that invites searching questions about both its composition and its role.

Judges of the seniority of Lord Hoffmann are called upon to make decisions not only of life and liberty, but also of human rights and the constitution. These are profound, and political, questions — yet we know next to nothing about the men (and it is chiefly men) who make them.

The Lord Chancellor, Derry Irvine, recognised this problem yesterday, when he acknowledged that greater public scrutiny of judges will be essential now Britain has absorbed the European Convention of Human Rights into our own law. The judiciary will be called upon to make ever more crucial decisions, often striking down the

actions of elected politicians. In that light, it seems obvious that we should be wary to the political interests of the men who will wield such power. The illusion that judges are free of human frailty is outdated, despite Lord Irvine's insistence that it is "nonsense" to imagine a judge's background exerting influence on his decisions.

The time for such scrutiny is the day candidates are proposed for the top ranks of our judiciary. At present, this selection happens in the dark, utterly free of democratic sunlight. It is the task of one man, the Lord Chancellor. That's why this newspaper was among the earliest advocates of a judicial appointments commission — made up of prison governors, criminologists and lay people as well as lawyers — where these crucial posts might be filled more openly. Labour was committed to that idea before the election, until it was quietly dropped. Now Lord Irvine hints he may revive it. That would certainly be an improvement on the current system.

But other ideas also press their case. Now that the Government has launched an ambitious programme of constitutional reform, surely it should place its changes to the judiciary in that overall context. So, for example, if we are to have a democratic second chamber, perhaps that body might have a say in choosing our judges? It could install a judicial committee to hold US-style confirmation hearings of nominees to the bench. Such a body would soon have learned of Lord Hoffmann's connections with Amnesty, so placing that information on the public record — thereby preventing claims of undeclared interest like the one to be heard today. More deeply, a second chamber would be a useful step on the way toward the separation of powers — a vital democratic notion, but one which has never taken root in Britain. It would hold the

executive in check but also, through a suitably-armed committee, ensure the judiciary was no longer the sole appointment of the executive. At present, all three branches are fused in the single person of the Lord Chancellor. Which device is chosen is not the main question. The key challenge for the Government is to shed some daylight on our judiciary — and to see its own programme of constitutional change not in pieces but as a connected whole.

The art of policy

Keep the brush strokes light

AS AN artwork it certainly offers scale. There's a note of iconoclasm too, but will Chris Smith's magnum opus rank as a masterpiece? One thing is sure — it's likely to be one of a kind, since culture secretaries are unlikely to get more than one bite at the Arts Council chert. On first inspection A New Cultural Framework reads as if the artist were enthused by technique. He has attacked the institutional structure of arts funding with a mallet and fashioned something that looks a lot smoother. The extra money secured in the summer's Comprehensive Spending Review doubtless lubricated his chisel. Whether the potters and the poets quite belong in the same financial oven remains to be seen, but the outlines of this redrawing of the various arts quangos looks sensible.

Ditto the creation of a body that will, at least in principle, ask questions about effectiveness of arts spending, although calling it Quest does, in the context, have an ominously dirigiste feel. Here's a dilemma. We live in the midst of a boom in "cultural" outlays, both from the Culture Department's own budget and the National Lottery; in

addition, there is the work of the Department for Education and Employment on school curriculum and attainment, the Department of Trade's policies for industry and the regions and the burgeoning conviction on the part of councils, funded through yet another bit of Whitehall, that culture is good for jobs and local identification. Hard questions need to be asked about volume and quality. What, for example, is going to fill all those Lottery-funded galleries? Mr Smith's statement tiptoes round whether the Government is moving to create something that amounts to a cultural policy.

The reason is clearly that he is too far down the ministerial pecking order to be able to countermand the branders of Britain at Number 10, who are doing cultural policy of a kind, let alone other Cabinet big-hitters. Yet without a policy, that's to say a sense of what public outlays are meant to achieve, the effectiveness of spending can't easily be assessed. But with a policy, what price the necessary freedom of imagination for creators of culture, for writers, painters and the host of specialists recently given new life? Personally, Mr Smith looks an unlikely Gauleiter, but he will still need to take care not to apply silly managerialist categories in an area where, as shown by the recent history of the BBC, imagination may suffer from too heavy-handed an encounter with the number-crunchers.

boys, as the latest singles chart gave women singers and girl bands the top five slots for the first time since statistics were collected. This was all the more of an achievement because last week's charts didn't include the Spice Girls (their turn is this week) nor All Saints (who may be one saint short of a choir soon if, as mooted, one of their singers leaves). The Spice Girls can undoubtedly claim some reflected glory for the all-women top five. Since they first challenged the Divine Right of Blunket Bands to dictate pop fashions when Wannabe stormed into the charts in 1996, the Spice Girls haven't looked back, even after losing a Spice of their own the way. They staked their claim for Girl Power and inspired numerous other bands and individuals to follow their lead.

They did. Last week B*witched pushed Cher into second place after her seven-week reign, followed by Billie, Mariah Carey and Whitney Houston, and Honeyz.

Cynics will, of course, say that this is just another instance of what Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice claimed last week — that the singles charts these days merely reflect the schemes of record companies' marketing departments. Could there have been an element of collusion among record companies thinking it would be a great wheeze to have the top five occupied by women, just as last month they managed to get the top slots occupied by singers from 20 years ago? Possibly.

It may also be true that it has been a poor year popwise for blokes. But these are just excuses. It is really about the onward march of young women, who now gain considerably better results than boys at GCSE, claim more places in the legal profession and who have almost caught up with men in terms of numbers in employment. On this showing, bloke groups had better wise up before they go the way of 78 rpm records.

Goodbye blokes

Girls count the spoils of pop

FANS of the Spice Girls were out in force yesterday to snap up copies of their new single, Goodbye, which looks set to top the charts for Christmas. Yesterday was also beginning to look a bit like goodbye to the

Letters to the Editor

Making it up with the Scots

I WAS surprised to find Simon Hoggart drawing such an extravagant conclusion from his unlikely account of the news as presented by Radio Scotland (Simon Hoggart's Diary, December 14). His view that if people in Scotland (and even in England) don't get their news from the radio, they are "making it up" is a judgment made for them by someone in Television Centre then "they are likely to feel more out of touch with reality than ever before," is precisely the saug attitude that makes people want to get their news from the radio. Perhaps, in the first of Hoggart's familiar phrases, he made that last bit up.

Patrick Hannan, Cardiff

NOW that the Scots want their own news broadcasts, given the unremitting mispronunciation of their major city by all the presenters on radio and TV as "Glasgow".

Betty Rubinstein, Richmond-upon-Thames.

SO, FOR reasons best known to himself, Barry Horne has ended his hunger strike and is back in hospital (Animal activist labelled a fraud as he calls off hunger strike, December 14). I wonder what sort of medical treatment he is expecting that would not have been tested on animals.

Elaine James, London.

"WHAT is Jon Barton up to?" Media Guardian, December 14. Who cares? Only me, I suspect, and then only because your story is wrong. I put in a standard BBC application for the Six O'Clock News editorship two months ago, complete with the paper requested. I've confessed this boringly normal behaviour to everyone who's asked. You didn't, and come up instead with some bizarre fiction about "putting his hat into the ring". I'll get the job I'll recommend to my team that tedious old journalist's trick of checking facts before transmission.

Jon Barton, Executive Editor, BBC Daily Current Affairs.

NON of the dribbling tea-spoon has been scientifically investigated (Letters, December 11 and 14) there must be many men who would like Age Concern or a similar interest group to commission further research into the human variant of this little documented condition.

John Clark, Exeter.

I AGREE with Bob Line (Letters, December 12) that we should think of a more heavy way for teenagers of "breaking the ice" other than asking for a light. But the real problem anyway is what do you say next, as getting a light on its own does not break the ice. The solution is simple. If you're not a smoker, your opening line should be whatever you would have said next.

Timothy Kraemer, London.

How I'll remember Monty

DAVID Montgomery (Punching the Mirror's image, December 14) is, no doubt, a man of many talents — comic impersonations, tap dancing and so forth. But neither self-awareness nor a talent for grown-up news-journalism is among them. A few choice memories stand out. One is the bizarre nature of Montgomery's own thinking about broadsheet journalism. He saw no point in most serious news and was constantly writing stories about Porches, celebrity muggings and "fashionable people" — a naïve, two-dimensional version of his own. Today, an organ so successful it was able to retire any foreign news, he simply didn't get it. When we had world-class scoops on the front page — Robert Fisk's stunning reports of the Algerian massacres for instance — he was simply baffled.

But the reason for my sacking was absolutely clear. After a series of ever more extreme demands for a cut, usually conveyed by a puce, embarrassed and bawling Charlie Wilson, I was told that another 50 jobs would have to go. This would have destroyed the newspaper as a serious outfit. I fought a guerrilla cam-

paigned and avoided most redundancies, for many months, while we tried to retrain. Finally, when the board was about to agree to Montgomery's demands for a substantially lower budget, I wrote to his then chief executive, explaining that if I was asked to implement another round of firings, I would refuse — and pointing out in clear terms why.

As I fully expected, I was then summarily dismissed. I haven't done many things I'm proud of on this little green planet, but that was one. Now the Independent is safely free of the clutches of one of the most negative, least creative people in business. If it survived Montgomery, it can survive anything. So no complaints; it was a "learning experience".

Well, perhaps only one. He describes me in yesterday's article as "a considerable talent". To be described as talented by Montgomery is grossly offensive and damaging to my reputation. Unless I have a retraction by noon I will put the matter in the hands of my trained team of curstard-pie operatives.

Andrew Marr, Editor of the Independent, 1996-98.

THE investigation into the Central Television documentary, The Connection, was nonetheless not independent and is equally unfounded, and is rejected. The implication that the outside professionals would or did act unprofessionally is untrue.

3. In case anyone should have been anyone should have been made clear that the panel did not find it necessary to cross-examine any of the witnesses.

It is nowhere suggested that such cross-examination in fact took place. The panel was satisfied that the procedures followed in the investigation were both sufficient and effective and sufficiently fair to its conclusions, without the need for the panel to interview witnesses itself.

Michael Beloff QC, Nigel Wainman, John Wilson, Carlton Television.

The Connection (continued)

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Michael Beloff QC, Nigel Wainman, John Wilson, Carlton Television.

Lament for the Birmingham Six supporter

AS A TEENAGER living in the Midlands in the 1970s I always had to stand up for being Irish, particularly after such atrocities as the Birmingham pub bombings (Shame on the Birmingham Six, December 11, Letters, December 14). I remember arguing with history teachers that I had no reason to feel personal shame for such atrocities, no more than he had reason to carry the shame of atrocities carried out by the British in Ireland.

I never denied my Irish identity, having been born in this country to Irish parents. Our household was reputa-

can and we felt no need for shame, no matter what actions were carried out in the name of the nationalist cause. We had the Guardian delivered every day. I grew up with the only British paper my family was prepared to trust when reporting on Ireland.

We always knew that the Birmingham Six were the innocent victims of the need for quick public retribution. The case against the Six was clearly flawed from day one, but no one would listen; the system needed a result. The Guardian was the only British paper to hold this view throughout the long and tor-

tuous years to prove their innocence. The Guardian is still the only paper that can be trusted on Ireland — in all others the hint of an anti-Irish bias remains.

Now, I do hang my head in shame for the action of my countrymen. We can only lament the action of the Birmingham Six, who were supported by the one British paper that stood by them through thick and thin — the Guardian. Shame on the Birmingham Six is right: I for one would stand in an Irish court and say so.

Breadan Quinn, Basingstoke.



Not much change out of the euro

I HAVE always been in favour of the European project with its ideas of increasing co-operation between the countries of Europe. Although I still believe in greater co-operation across European economies, the euro seems bound to fuel increasing nationalism rather than displace it.

The euro will be constitutionally unstable since there can be no convergence between economies with widely different structures and management practices. Domestic political and economic pressures in the euro block will inevitably cause it to fragment, since no German, Greek or Spanish government will sacrifice its citizens' prosperity to the euro's stability.

In addition, I fear that the richer European nations, such as Germany and Benelux — who will be providing most of the capital for the euro — will resent the funding of poorer nations, such as Portugal and Greece.

I suspect the price that the Bundesbank and Central Bank will demand for such largesse is real control of such economies to ensure value for money and financial probity.

Will the euro experiment be paid for by a sacrifice of political autonomy? The euro seems to be idealism untempered by reality.

Jeremy Ross, London.

LARRY Elliott (Risky trip to dollar rivalry, December 14) is free to say that "there will be no chance for parity" between the pound and the dollar.

ment. It is something which has to be paid by Westminster City Council, even though the recipients had been placed in the hotel by other London boroughs or other agencies.

The article states that I was a member of the environment sub-committee which considered hotel inspections in 1991. The borough council's records clearly show that this is not true.

Finally, you indicate that action was taken following concerted activity by several councillors.

That is indeed correct. But what you do not say is that I was one of those councillors who led the fight — despite the inadequate legislation that exists to bring about legal action against the hotel owners.

Melvyn Caplan, Leader, Westminster City Council.

Now it's official: the Queen's palaces are mostly open

FOR most of the year, even when the Queen is in residence, the state apartments are open to visitors (A queen's ransom, December 12).

It is unfortunate that Alexander Chancellor's visit to Windsor Castle coincided with state apartment closures.

All Windsor Castle publicity material makes it clear that "the opening arrangements may be subject to change, including the closure of the state apartments". There have been occasions recently when they have been closed — these were November 17-22, to prepare for a concert marking the 50th birthday of the Prince of Wales, and November 25 to December 5 for the state visit by the President of Germany.

The closure of St George's Chapel to visitors every Sunday was a decision taken by the dean and canons, who are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used. Please provide a reference to the relevant article.

workshippers, and the dean and canons decided it was impracticable to manage visitors as well.

Finally, constantly updated information about the opening times of all the Queen's official residences — Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle and the Palace of Holyroodhouse — is available on the royal web site, at <http://www.royal.gov.uk>. This ensures that visitors are aware of what is available for them to see when they wish to visit one of the official residences.

Dickie Arbiter, Assistant press secretary to the Queen, Buckingham Palace.

Will you give Mary a bed this Christmas?



At 16, Mary ran away from a life of abuse. Today she is homeless. Could you sleep easy on Christmas Eve knowing she was shivering in a bus shelter?

You can help keep Mary, and thousands of vulnerable people like her, safe and warm over Christmas. With £25 from you, Crisis can provide a warm bed, hot meals, clean clothes and someone to talk to at one of our shelters.

As the days count down to Christmas, nearly 10,000 homeless people are counting on Crisis. We're counting on you. Our service depends on public donations. So please send your £25 today — in time to help us buy the bedding, food and clothes we need to bring Mary in from the cold.

Homeless fiasco was not ours

WAS most concerned to read David Hencke's article (Council ignored families' plight, December 10) about the ombudsman's report on Clarendon Court Hotel.

Your article suggests that it was Westminster City Council which placed homeless families in the hotel.

Nothing is further from the truth. The council has not, at any time, housed anyone in the Clarendon Court. All its tenants were either self-placed or put there by other councils or agencies.

Westminster later is also accused of paying £750,000 in housing benefit. I would entirely agree that the amounts paid were, in many cases, excessive.

However, this is not a matter where we have any discretion. Housing benefit is a national benefit which is funded by national govern-

Countdown to Christmas

Yes, I'll keep homeless people warm:

☐ £15 ☐ £25 ☐ £50 ☐ £250* other £

I enclose a cheque made payable to Crisis. OR debit my:

☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Switch* other

Card no. _____

Last three digits of Switch card no. ____ Switch issue no. ____

Expiry date ____/____/____ Signature _____

* Gifts of £250 or more are worth almost a third extra to us under Gift Aid

Name (caps) Mr/Ms/Ms/Ms _____

Address _____ Postcode _____

OR please call our telephone donation line 0800 038 48 38

Crisis, FREEPOST, Room 145, London E1 1BR

If you do not wish to receive information from other voluntary agencies, please tick ☐

Big Charity 1998

Tuesday December 15 1998

Barbie romances the Riven masters, page 12

Tomorrow: The £1bn rail sale rip-off

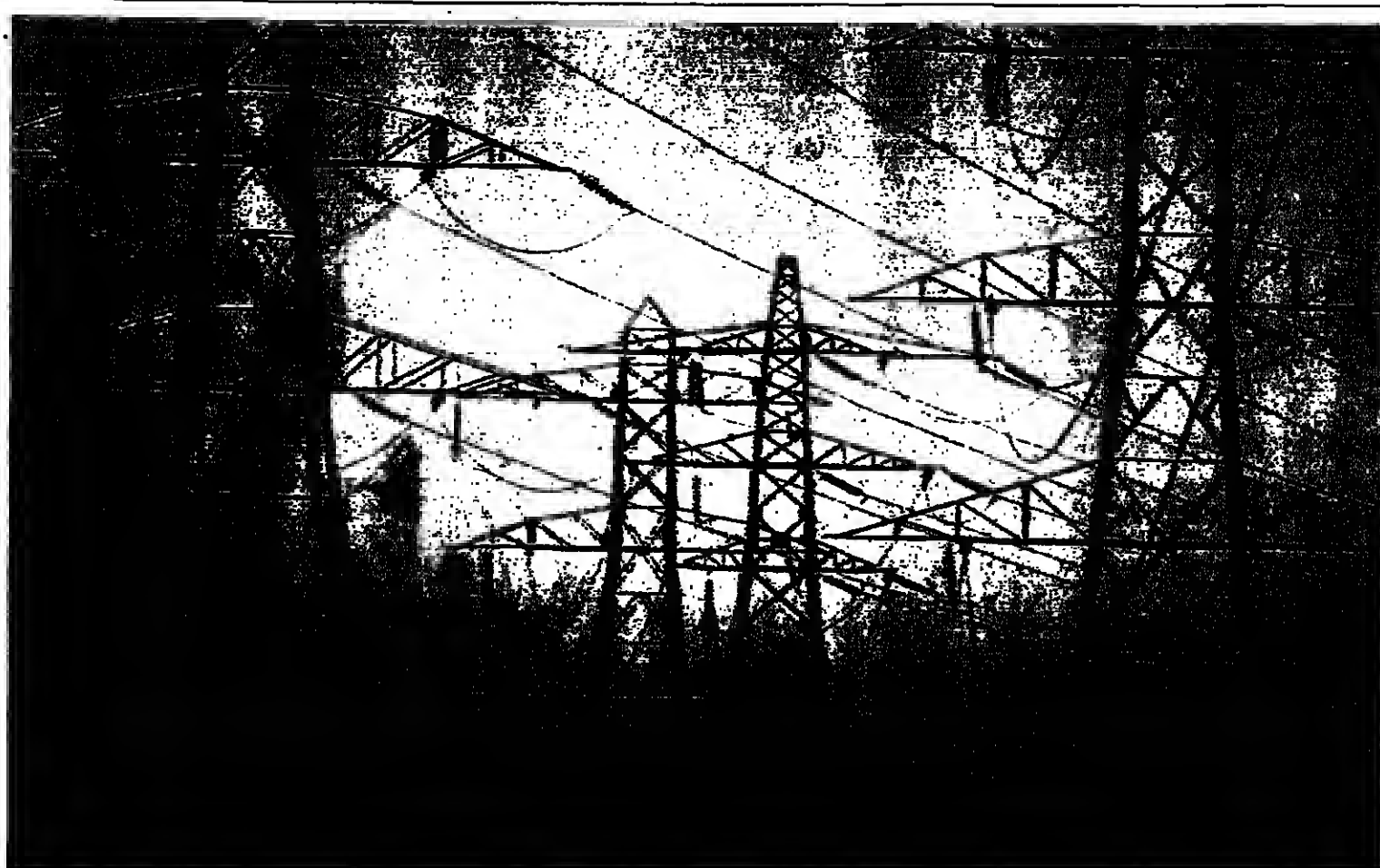
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Financial Editor: Alex Brummer
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FinanceGuardian

Power firm goes looking for growth in New England

National Grid pylons straddle the South Downs at Southwick Hill, near Shoreham in Sussex. PHOTOGRAPH: ROGER BAMBER



US bid by National Grid

Terry Macalister

THE invasion of the United States by British energy companies took another leap forward yesterday when National Grid unveiled a \$3.2 billion (£1.3 billion) bid for New England's biggest electricity utility NEEC, and said further US takeovers were possible.

The move by the operator of the English and Welsh electricity transmission networks comes days after Scottish Power became the first non-US company to enter the world's biggest electricity market with a \$7 billion deal to buy PacifiCorp.

National Grid said NEEC (New England Electric System) was one of the most efficient transmission and distribution companies. It would give the UK group a foothold in the US through New England, a region which has been leading the way in deregulation of the electricity sector.

National Grid believes it can cut costs at NEEC, saying it has saved £200 million a year and nearly halved jobs to 3,600 at National Grid.

But the City expressed concern about the 25 per cent premium being paid and marked down National Grid shares 11.5p to 487.75p. And ratings agency Moody's Investors Service said the company's senior debt was under review for possible downgrade.

This all-cash deal will be financed out of existing reserves. It is expected to be finalised inside 12 months with NEEC becoming a wholly owned subsidiary of National Grid. The move will greatly increase the book value of National Grid by up to 400 per cent.

But the management said this figure was irrelevant, given that some parts of National Grid's business — such as its 74 per cent stake in the fast-growing Energis telecoms company — were grossly undervalued in the parent company's accounts.

National Grid chief executive David Jones said he was confident the experiences learned in the UK from deregulation could help transform the value of NEEC.

He said up to £500 million was ready to be spent on further acquisitions if a company "of the right opportunity and size comes into view". He declined to say whether National Grid already had its eye on particular deals.

Mr Jones dismissed concerns that National Grid had paid too much for that it might run into regulatory problems. NEEC is one of the 20 largest US utilities, and has 1.3 million customers in the wealthy north-east states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire.

It also acts as the regional grid with 2,675 miles of transmission lines and 28,000 miles of distribution networks operated by subsidiaries. NEEC holds minority stakes in six nuclear power plants, three of which have been closed down. It has a small telecoms arm which could be developed with the help of Energis, which National Grid said yesterday would be sold off within three to five years.

Under the terms of the merger agreement, NEEC shareholders will receive a cash payment of \$53.75 for each NEEC share. This means

that NEEC chief executive Rick Sargent is in line for close on \$1 million when he sells his 17,000 shares.

The news came as the Government cleared Scottish Hydro-Electric's proposed merger with Southern Electric. The two companies agreed an all-share deal last September to create a group worth \$5 billion called Scottish and Southern Energy. It serves 3.3 million customers.

However, Electricite de France's acquisition of London Electricity met with less success with the regulators as the European Commission said it was seeking the views of rivals and other interested parties over the deal.

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that NEEC chief executive Rick Sargent is in line for close on \$1 million when he sells his 17,000 shares.

The question which may be resting on stakeholders' minds, however, is why the company waited until it hit \$10 a barrel, before seeking a radical restructuring. With the level of expertise and analysis within the organisation, the possibility of a dramatic fall in the market price of oil should not have come as such a surprise.

Grid gains

NOW the herd is thundering in the opposite direction. After the contentious Scottish Power bid for PacifiCorp, the National Grid has set its sights on the New England electricity distributor NEEC. With all this going on, can PowerGen, which has expressed an interest in the deregulated US market, be far behind?

Once again a bid — the Grid offer for NEEC — has been heralded by some as rather unfortunate leakage of privileged information. The Stock Exchange has been successful in preventing the leakage of information from analysts' briefings, but still has a serious problem on its hands with bid information. Almost all the recent major deals, including the Scottish Power offer for PacifiCorp, have been preceded by sharp movements in share prices.

It would, however, be unfair to judge the National Grid offer for NEEC as harshly as Scottish Power's venture. There are a number of important differences. The Grid is

not a public company, and its shareholders are mostly institutional investors. The Grid's offer for NEEC is a cash offer, while Scottish Power's offer for PacifiCorp was an all-share deal. The Grid's offer for NEEC is a cash offer, while Scottish Power's offer for PacifiCorp was an all-share deal.

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Notebook

Shell faces hazards on alternative route



Alex Brummer

MOST of the oil majors have thus far chosen to deal with the low oil price by forging mergers in the hope of taking out costs and reducing competition. Shell has chosen an alternative route. It is restructuring itself without a merger and the group's chairman John Moody-Stuart deserves credit for taking this route.

The scale of the restructuring, notably the \$4.5 billion (\$2.7 billion) special charges on written down assets, may come as a shock. But it is reasonable for Shell to put its balance sheet in order at the same time as it is jettisoning a bureaucratic headquarters structure. The 4,000 job losses announced will be just the start, as the company comes to grips with taking out \$2.5 billion of costs a year.

The other area marked for rationalisation is chemicals. Here, Shell is proposing to divest itself of 40 per cent of the business, concentrating on the core activities of major cracker products, petrochemicals and polymers.

The question which may be resting on stakeholders' minds, however, is why the company waited until it hit \$10 a barrel, before seeking a radical restructuring. With the level of expertise and analysis within the organisation, the possibility of a dramatic fall in the market price of oil should not have come as such a surprise.

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buying into a business very like its own: a distribution system over a relatively small land mass area. Moreover, unlike Scottish Power, there are no extravagant claims vis-a-vis the management of the American business. The National Grid regards the NEEC incumbent team as satisfactory: the lessons of British companies in the United States is that those which rely on local management tend to do better.

Moreover, this is a purchase which is relatively less complicated. The Grid does have core skills in running an electricity distribution system and NEEC does not extend National Grid's reach beyond those skills.

Moreover, in that the New England system is only at the start of deregulation, there may well be all manner of efficiencies which it can bring to bear. The environmental and political outlook on the East Coast is likely to be more friendly to the National Grid than the more independently minded Western states.

As for the opportunities, they may not just be in power lines. The National Grid's unassuming success has been its skill in using its power distribution as a backbone for the Energis telecoms network. If the Grid can survive the slings and arrows of the regulatory process and the scrutiny of shareholders, then there may yet be some unexpected value.

Goldman swings

THIS has been an extraordinary year for investment bankers Goldman Sachs. The restructuring, flotation made it the centre of attention for most of the summer until the global financial crisis, the problems at Long-Term Capital Management and the slump in investment banking shares on Wall Street put paid to that ambition.

Some of this is reflected in the company's final quarter, when profits plummeted to \$107 million. The main factors were the turmoil on financial markets which affected credit and arbitrage activities, although corporate finance held up well. There is some satisfaction being drawn at Goldman's ability to weather the problems in the markets, the company was in the black in the final quarter (the broad equivalent of the third quarter in other investment banks).

Despite this, Goldman's still manages to earn \$2,921 billion over the whole of 1998, down on the \$3 billion in 1997, but still the second best outcome in the firm's history. Given this level of profitability even in a year when many others have struggled, it is puzzling why the Goldman partners should have even considered the possibility of having shareholders looking over their shoulders.

As matters stand, profits can swing with the markets and the partners are responsible to no one but themselves.

A Euro flap greets the euro-stork

Stephen Bates in Brussels

NO JOES about inflation please. The euro may be just over a fortnight away from being launched, but yesterday in Brussels the European Commission was able to announce that it will also be airborne — and has already been cleared for take-off.

Just under 3,000 blue balloons illuminated with the golden-crossed "e" symbol of the euro will be launched from a meeting of the EU's 15 finance ministers at about 1.30 pm on December 31.

That is the maximum number allowed before Brussels air traffic control at the nearby Zaventem international airport has to be alerted about the risk of low-flying hazards — launching the single currency with pilots weaving jumbo jets through a haze heavy with symbolic "e"s.

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLERS

Australia	Germany	Malaysia	Singapore
Austria	Greece	Netherlands	South Africa
Belgium	Hong Kong	New Zealand	Spain
Canada	India	Norway	Sweden
Cyprus	Indonesia	Portugal	Switzerland
Denmark	Israel	Saudi Arabia	Turkey
Finland	Italy		USA
France			

Supplied by Reuters (banking rates), Shell and Motest

CBI calls for rate cut as prices fall breaks record

Larry Elliott

THE Confederation of British Industry last night called for further cuts in interest rates after the latest official figures showed hard-pressed firms cutting prices at the fastest rate in a year in an effort to drum up new business.

Data from the Office for National Statistics showed that deflationary pressures are intensifying in manufacturing despite the recent easing of monetary policy by the Bank of England.

Factory gate prices excluding food, drink, tobacco and petroleum — which are distorted by Budget tax changes — fell by 0.5 per cent in the year to November, the fastest rate of decline since records began in 1988.

The core measure of output price inflation has now been falling for three months, reflecting the squeeze on industry's profit margins from the downturn in demand.

Kate Barker, the CBI's chief economist, said: "These figures illustrate the need for further cuts in interest rates in the New Year."

Factory gate prices are seen as an early sign of inflationary pressure in the economic pipeline and City analysts said yesterday's figures vindicated last week's decision by the Bank's monetary policy committee to cut the cost of borrowing by 0.5 percentage points. Figures for the Retail Prices Index will be released later today.

According to the ONS, the price of all goods leaving factories rose by 0.1 per cent in November, while the annual rate of decline in prices remained unchanged at 0.2 per cent.

Excluding food, drink, tobacco and petroleum products, prices fell by 0.1 per cent last month, the fifth consecutive month in which they have either dropped or remained unchanged.

Rob Hayward, economist at the Bank of America said of the data: "It does suggest that this lack of inflationary pressure will be feeding through to other sectors of the economy, most notably the retail sector."

While prices have been falling across the board in manufacturing, the sharpest falls have been in office machinery and computers, which are down 21.3 per cent on a year ago.

Industry is getting some help from the sharp decline in the cost of fuel and raw materials, which are 8.9 per cent lower in November than in the same month last year.

However, the recent fall in the value of the pound has started to have an impact on the cost of imported goods, and prices have risen by 0.4 per cent in November alone. This is the first increase since May.

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Rover stalls over delivery date for flagship 75 model



Customers may have to wait longer for Rover's new 75

Terry Macalister

ROVER plans to put its new 75 model car on sale in March but admitted last night that it could not be sure when customers would receive their vehicles. New deliveries could be as late as July due to quality-control issues, warned the company which is heading for a £500 million loss this year.

With the industry facing as much as a 4 per cent slump in sales in 1998 and competition more intense than ever, the difficulties at the Cowley plant in Oxford where £850 million is being invested in the Rover 75, are a blow for the car manufacturer owned by BMW of Germany.

But Rover said its inability to provide a definite delivery date for its new model highlighted the exacting checks being undertaken.

"We will only deliver cars when we are 110 per cent sure about the quality," said the spokesman.

More than 74,000 inquiries have been made by potential customers and they will be able to buy the cars formally in March after an official launch, said Rover. But the spokesman added: "Deliveries could be in April or May. They could be in July. It depends on just how quickly we get through the quality test stages."

The 75 is to be Rover's top-of-the-range flagship car which will cost around £19,000

and effectively replace both the 60 and the 800 series. It was launched amid much razzamatazz at the Birmingham Motor Show in October. The car, retro-styled to echo the famous Mark 2 of the 1960s, is meant to challenge rivals such as the BMW 5 series.

The car is being built at a new £300 million facility at Cowley and at peak production more than 120,000 vehicles will be produced. Some 40 per cent of sales are expected to be from the domestic market.

Meanwhile Longbridge is being prepared for the launch of a new Mini and two mid-

size cars below the Rover 75 range.

Last week Rover workers backed a package of job losses and pay cuts to save Rover's Longbridge plant in return for a £2 billion investment by BMW. While union leaders were hailing the agreement as a vote of confidence in the German company management was already warning that further cost savings will have to be made.

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Banks the 'worst offenders for late paying'

Liz Stuart

HIGH street banks, which promote themselves as the champions of enterprise, are strangling small business by paying their suppliers' bills late, it was claimed yesterday.

The large banks, most of which have dedicated small business units, emerged as the worst offenders in a survey on bill payment, taking an average of 82 days to settle liabilities — against the average of all businesses of 58 days and 16 days longer than six months ago when the study of 212,000 companies was last conducted.

Last night the British Bankers' Association hill barked, claiming that the data was flawed. A spokesman said that high street banks were at the vanguard of payment practice reform and that they would want to support, rather than supplant, their small business customers.

"The banks have to record payment records in their audited reports and accounts. Looking at these we would put the average payment time at between 15 and 28 days," he said.

A spokesman for Experian, the information technology company which produced the report, insisted that the data was compiled from the suppliers' sales ledgers. "Late payment is having a devastating effect on smaller companies which are falling at a faster rate than at any time in the last three years."

"It is no coincidence that company failures are on the increase again and that one of the major causes is poor cash flow because of the late payment of invoices. As they allow their customers a credit period of 37 days on average, this means that they are in effect using suppliers as unofficial bankers to fund over a month's free credit," he said.

According to the Federation of Small Businesses, 18 per cent of failures last year were caused by late payments and at any time £17 billion is owed by large companies to smaller suppliers.

'We will only deliver cars when we are 110 per cent sure about the quality'

Tarmac merger fails amid growing industry fears

Terry Macalister

MERGER talks between Tarmac and Aggregate Industries to create the country's largest building materials and quarry company have called off last night amid recriminations as industry experts predicted that the sector is heading for a tough new year.

The development is a blow for Tarmac whose chief executive, Sir Neville Stammers, has been under pressure from investors angry at the company's dismal share price performance.

The news of the breakdown came in a terse statement from Aggregate Industries which was released after the stock market had closed. It said it had

ended talks on what would have been a £1.9 billion deal, adding that the board "will continue to pursue opportunities" to rationalise where value could be created for its shareholders.

But Tarmac's chairman, Sir John Banham, later blamed Aggregate Industries for making unreasonable demands in the talks which started in October and which promised to bring consolidation to an already hard-pressed building materials industry.

Sir John said: "At the eleventh hour the board of Aggregate Industries sought to change key terms in the proposal which they had already agreed. The changes would have effectively resulted in a nil premium takeover of Tarmac

by Aggregate Industries and we could not be satisfied that the potential synergies would have been realised."

Tarmac insiders made clear last night that the company would immediately launch an initiative to find partners who would be willing to look at a tie-up. Among the companies linked in the past with Tarmac is an Irish building materials group, CRH.

The National Council of Building Producers said yesterday that the construction industry faced a difficult couple of years as slower British economic growth held back private sector work. Industrial work would be hit by manufacturing recession and reduced inward investment.

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Oil major to cut jobs and sell refineries in worldwide restructuring offensive

Shell blueprint for 2001

Dan Atkinson

ENERGY company Shell, reeling from the sliding oil price and criticisms of its management, unveiled plans to slash more jobs, write off billions of dollars of assets and put chemical businesses and refineries up for sale.

The blueprint for reshaping Shell for the 21st century was generally welcomed, although pessimists suggested the day of the huge integrated oil combine may be drawing to a close, whatever Shell does.

The group pledged itself to

tear out \$2.5 billion in costs in both 1999 and 2000, but no figure has been given for the number of jobs likely to be axed. Already Shell is to cut 4,000 from its worldwide workforce of 105,000, with another 900 going at associated companies and 6,500 people being transferred out as businesses are sold.

The shake-up came on the heels of further disarray within the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the cartel that tries to prop up oil prices. At a meeting of Persian Gulf oil exporters in Cairo on Saturday, Libya proposed an emergency freeze on all Opec exports.

The suggestion was slapped down, although Saudi Arabia, Venezuela and non-Opec member Mexico are to hold a three-way summit in Madrid within the next few days to discuss ways of stemming the world oil glut.

Shell forecast an average \$14-a-barrel price for Brent crude, the benchmark North Sea price, during the next five years, adding that the immediate outlook was for prices nearer \$10.

Even at these levels, said chairman Mark Moody-Stuart, Shell would remain "financially robust".

The Anglo-Dutch group pledged further streamlining

of its management structure, away from traditional committee-based decision-making towards a system based on American-style chief executives.

In a two-and-a-half hour presentation to the City, Shell bosses were said to be contrite about their mistakes. Mr Moody-Stuart said: "I am absolutely clear that our group's reputation with investors is on the line."

He added that the changes marked just the first step in a "radical restructuring" of Shell.

But one analyst suggested Shell and other oil combines ought to be looking at de-

structuring, arguing that it no longer made sense for drilling, refining, transporting and retailing of oil products to be under one roof.

Shell did say nothing was sacred in the drive to improve performance, but a break-up is not in the offing.

Asset write-offs totalling \$4.5 billion after tax will include \$1.8 to \$2 billion in write-offs of exploration and production properties, \$0.5 to \$0.7 billion written off the value of US gas and power interest Texas, acquired last year, and a write-down of \$1.1 to \$1.3 billion on its chemical interests.

Shell is to sell 40 per cent of

its chemicals businesses, including a number of British chemicals plants, as prices for chemicals fall around the world.

A spokeswoman confirmed: "There will be some rationalisation in the UK and some selective divestments but we hope staff will transfer with those businesses." She added: "We are not looking at massive redundancies."

There is some doubt as to whether Shell will find eager buyers for those chemicals businesses and refineries it is keen to sell. In the current climate, said one analyst, there are many sellers of such assets and few buyers.

Retailers face Net invasion

Chris Barrie, Media Business Correspondent

UNLESS British retailers set up strong, well-promoted web sites and e-commerce operations within the next 12 months, they will be "swamped" by US corporations planning on-line operations to sell products around the world. The warning came from the chief strategist of one of the fastest growing Internet businesses in the United States, which has been feared that British firms are falling behind their American counterparts in developing electronic commerce.

Joe Firmage, founder of US Web, said British businesses were "apathetic" about the threats and opportunities of the Internet. American businesses already carries out electronically "at least 20 times more business" by volume than its British counterparts, he said.

By leveraging their on-line experience in their home markets, US corporations are planning assaults on overseas markets, much as Amazon.com is already doing in book retailing.

British retailers stood to lose so much business that it could undermine the stability of trade relations between the two nations, Mr Firmage forecast.

A former Novell executive, Mr Firmage founded US Web in 1995. The corporation now claims to be the largest Internet consultancy in the world, employing more than 2,000 people in five countries. It claims more than half the American Fortune 100 companies as clients, and has spent \$700 million (\$430 million) on acquisitions in the past two years.

The influx by American corporations into the British retail market would be so invasive that it would make the current downturn in retail

sales seem small beer. He said that "huge" retail businesses operating purely on-line were being constructed in the US, yet Britain had yet to win any meaningful share of this fast-growing market.

"Some 95 per cent of major US corporations are making efforts to build intranets, and nearly all have extensive web sites. It is important to recognise that the Internet will be as important to business as the telephone," he said.

Estimating the United States to hold 75 per cent of the world's Internet transactions, Mr Firmage forecast that business conducted on-line around the world would rise three fold next year from this year's estimate of \$2.5 billion. Mr Firmage refused to say which British retailers were especially slow to respond to the threat of on-line businesses based in the US, but he made it clear that companies selling books, records and videos were prime targets.

Mark Fowle, managing director of US Web's British operation, said the on-line book retailer Amazon.com presented a grave threat to the future of more conventional retailers such as WH Smith, despite the fact that the British company has an on-line book-selling business. "Christmas in the US is Christmas on-line," Mr Fowle said. He is testing a "wake-up" call to British retailers who will face fierce competition from the US by Christmas 1999.

Mr Firmage's predictions brought a sharp rebuttal from Ross Beadle, marketing director of the Internet Bookshop which was bought by WH Smith to form the core of the high street retailer's on-line operation, however.

He said the big brands built on the Internet were so far Web-only brands on both sides of the Atlantic. His bookshop has increased sales four-fold in the past year.

Doll maker bids for computer market



Barbie needs hi-tech business partner, says toy group Mattel

Mark Tran in New York

THE world's largest toy maker yesterday moved into the world of hi-tech games with a \$3.8 billion (\$2.2 billion) bid for the Learning Company.

Mattel, most famous for its Barbie doll, will become the owner of the second-largest consumer software group in the world if the deal is approved by shareholders.

Popular for games such as Riven and Myst, the Learning Company has \$850 million in projected revenues for 1998, making it second only to Microsoft in consumer software. Its brands include Reader Rabbit and the Oregon Trail.

Although Barbie contin-

ues to be a cash cow for Mattel, the Californian toy company does not want to be left out of the interactive toy market as children move much more quickly from dolls and action figures to electronics.

"We have begun the process of transforming Mattel from a toy company to a global children's products company," said Jill Barad, Mattel's chairman and chief executive officer.

As a result of this merger we will achieve our goal of building a \$1 billion interactive software business.

Mattel already has seen some success with its interactive Winnie-the-Pooh as part of its attempts at diversification.

Earlier this year, Mattel bought the Pleasant Company, maker of the

popular line of American Girl dolls, books and clothes sold through direct mail rather than traditional retailers like Toys R Us.

"The combination of American Girl, the Learning Company and our collector businesses will give us more than \$900 million in direct-to-consumer sales, lessening our dependence on traditional retailers," Ms Barad said.

On a less festive note, Mattel disclosed that it will see a \$500 million drop in revenue in 1998 because of a change in buying practices from many of its retail customers.

Many merchants are letting inventory levels run down rather than reordering merchandise to plug gaps in keeping with the practice of "just in time"

inventory management. Mattel expects a 33 per cent drop in profits compared with previous estimates.

"These developments were counter to all historical trends and could not have been foreseen. Our sales were on plan through mid-November and we had a strong Thanksgiving at retail," said Ms Barad.

"This situation is very painful and disappointing for us." This year has been a tough year for Mattel, one of corporate America's biggest success stories in the past decade, with a share price that has jumped four-fold since 1994. Mattel's growth has also made a celebrity of Ms Barad, one of the top women executives in America.



Eyeing expansion... Barbie Doll manufacturer Mattel wants to add the software game products of the Learning Company to become a global children's products company

MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID SILITOE

Vaux profit hit as it calls time

Roger Cowe

NORTH-east brewer and hotelier Vaux yesterday prepared for its imminent departure from the beer industry with a £25 million write-off that slashed profits by more than half last year to £14 million.

The charge reflects the estimated reduction in value of the properties to be sold, compared to their value in the balance sheet last year.

Martin Grant, chief executive, said he was close to completing negotiations to sell the two breweries in Sunderland and Sheffield, and a 350-strong chain of tenanted pubs. The deal should be finalised in January, after which the company will change its name to the Swallow Group, reflecting its concentration on the Swallow Hotel chain.

Mr Grant said escaping from brewing would benefit the continuing pub and hotel chains because they would be able to buy beer more cheaply on the open market, while some of the cash generated from the sale would be invested and the rest would help reduce debts.

The 36 Swallow Hotels reported a strong trading year. Profits rose by more than 11 per cent on a comparable basis, with higher occupancy levels and a 12 per cent increase in room rates.

Total beer sales edged up, helped by the new brands, Lambton's and Samson. But sales in tenanted pubs continued to fall.

Brewing profits fell by 12 per cent while profits from the managed houses edged ahead of last year.

Mr Grant reported gloomier news on current sales, however, describing the trade as "volatile and difficult to predict".

Takings in managed pubs are 8 per cent below this time last year and hotel occupancy rates have also slipped. Vaux said there was "an overall softening in demand" but reported forward hotel bookings still ahead of last year.

Mr Grant described the trading environment as "challenging" but said there were several ways in which the financial performance of the hotel chain and the managed pubs could be improved even in tough times.

De Beers relies on US yen for gems

Dan Atkinson

PLUNGING Far Eastern jewellery demand has wiped nearly a third off world gemstone sales, the De Beers group said yesterday.

Turmoil in Japan and South-east Asia has shrunk the global market by about 15 per cent since 1996.

Now all eyes are on the United States, whose booming economy is staggering under record levels of debt. An American crash would leave the diamond industry in disarray and remove the last buoyant jewellery market.

De Beers was reporting 1998 sales by its Central Selling Organisation (CSO), the cartel in Hatton Garden, London, that markets nearly 90 per cent of

the world's diamonds, including those extracted in De Beers's mines. Total sales of rough diamonds through the CSO dived 28 per cent from 1997 to \$3.4 billion in 1998.

However, the De Beers diamond stockpile — the buffer stock maintained by De Beers to keep diamonds off the market in bad times and sell them when conditions improve — is thought to have ballooned to about \$5 billion-worth of stones, against \$4.7 billion-worth at the end of June.

But even the stockpile and the falling sales do not tell the full story of sliding diamond demand, because mines are keeping stones off the market.

At the heart of the crisis is the meltdown in the Far East: in 1996, Japan and South-east

Asia accounted for about 40 per cent of all jewellery sales, with the US taking another 40 per cent and Europe and the rest of the world 20 per cent. Now, the US takes about 45 per cent, Europe and the rest of the world 20 per cent, and the Far East 20 per cent, leaving a 15 per cent hole in demand.

Roger Chaplin, analyst at London broker T. Hoare, said any slowdown in the US would pose severe problems for De Beers. De Beers had massaged down expectations for the second half of 1998 from CSO sales totalling \$1.9 billion to something closer to the \$1.645 billion announced yesterday.

For De Beers shareholders, a dividend cut now looms for the first time since 1992. Then,

the CSO's problems were on the supply side, with Angolan and Russian diamonds glutting the market. Today it is demand squeezing the industry.

The company said: "Good levels of retail sales of diamond jewellery in the United States and to a lesser extent in Europe have been insufficient to compensate for lower sales in Japan and East Asia." It added that sales of diamond jewellery in the US held up well and early indications suggested strong demand in the Christmas sales period.

But retail demand in Japan, the second largest market, was some 20 per cent below 1997 in dollar terms, while polished stone imports into Hong Kong were down around 40 per cent.

No cash for bus lane, says BAA

Keith Harper Transport Editor

THE Government's hopes of attracting private enterprise to help fund a dedicated bus lane on the M25 between Heathrow and Gatwick airports were dashed yesterday by BAA, the airports operator.

The BAA said it did not have the capital to put into the £100 million scheme. It had been devised to relieve congestion on the M25 rather than to provide easier access for passengers travelling between the two airports.

The BAA said rail access to Gatwick from central London was excellent and the journey would eventually be reduced to less than 20 minutes.

The company has been in talks with Railtrack for the past two years to buy Gatwick railway station, which is in need of renovation, but the talks have collapsed because Railtrack realises the commercial potential from redeveloping the station.

BAA also stressed it had no plan to bid for the new franchise for the Gatwick Express, held by National Express. BAA has already entered the train operating market. It operates and paid for the development of the £450 million Heathrow Express between Paddington and the centre of

the airport, and is interested in extending its empire in this field.

BAA's revelations make it unlikely that the widening of the M25 will take place for several years. It is in the Government's road plans, but is not scheduled for at least three years.

The Government would not be prepared to proceed with a bus lane without carrying out further improvements to the M25. The lane is scheduled to run along the busy 25-mile stretch of the motorway between junctions 12 and 15.

The BAA has so far spent £1 million on a special bus lane on the M4 spur approach to Heathrow. The Highways Agency is examining plans to build a bus lane on the east-bound M4 from Heathrow towards central London.

Traffic at BAA's seven airports increased by 7.1 per cent in November last year, including exceptional gains of 34.2 per cent at Stansted, Britain's fastest growing airport.

The company said that UK passengers in November totalled 8.1 million, with the important European scheduled market increasing by 7.4 per cent.

Heathrow recorded a growth of 3.4 per cent, while Gatwick and Edinburgh's traffic rose by 10.1 per cent.

News in brief

Goldman hit by financial turmoil

TURMOIL in the financial markets in the last quarter of the year inflicted pain on Goldman Sachs, the US investment bank which yesterday reported pre-tax profits of just \$107 million (\$87 million) for the period, one of its worst quarters ever.

However, Goldman's results for the whole of 1998 were its second best on report thanks to buoyant financial markets earlier in the year. In the financial year to November, Goldman made profits of \$2.821 billion, down from the \$3.01 billion record in 1997.

The results are the culmination of a year in which Goldman's reputation was battered by its humiliating decision to pull its plans for stock market flotation. — Jill Trevor

Vert is the new black

JACQUES VERT, the ladieswear retailer, bucked the grim trend of autumn sales with strong half-year sales yesterday. The company, which was restructured earlier in the year, saw sales from its 22 stores and 91 in-store concessions rise by nine per cent in the six-month period, and sales have soared by 13 per cent in the last five weeks. But chairman Bill Reid said "cash requirements will remain tight at certain times of the cycle". The company turned last year's £2.5 million loss into a £534,000 profit.

E-mails R Us

TOYS R US yesterday entered the battle for Internet customers with a free offer to rival special deals available from Amazon and Tesco. The toy chain said it would give customers free registration and subscription, five free e-mail addresses and other add-ons, even if they are not buying a new personal computer from the toy chain. The offer is available from its 61 multi-media departments to customers who already have a PC and to new buyers. Toys R Us has been selling PCs for three years and currently offers the simplest version for £269. The deal is in conjunction with Martin Dawes Telecommunications, which runs the Breathe.net service. Cable & Wireless and ICL are also

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Olympic Games

Duncan Mackay on the IOC president's promise of investigation as Salt Lake City apologises for inducements

Samaranch to act over bribes

IN A display of unexpected unity, the International Olympic Committee president Juan Antonio Samaranch yesterday appeared alongside the senior official who has set in train the biggest corruption scandal in the modern Games' 100-year history.

Samaranch sat grim faced at a press conference in Lausanne on the 80-year-old Swiss lawyer Marc Hodler, the long-serving member of the IOC with 35 years and a part of its powerful ruling executive board, repeated his vote-buying charges.

Looking tired and drawn, Hodler, who is due to step down from the IOC shortly, said: "These have been the three worst days I have spent in my long career in sport."

Samaranch, who has led the IOC since 1980 when among the candidates he defeated was Hodler, compared the crisis to the boycotts of the 1980s and the Ben Johnson drug scandal at the 1988 Seoul Games. "They were difficult moments, and now we are facing another difficult moment," he said. "I am sure we will solve this problem."

The IOC president said the investigation would centre on Salt Lake City because it is the only case with documented evidence. "If there is other proof, we will open other cases," he said. "If there are cases of corruption, we can't permit it in the Olympic family."

Hodler shook the Olympic movement to its core when he alleged that four "agents", including one IOC member, had been involved in vote-buying over the past 10 years. He cited supposed irregularities in the elections of at least four Olympic cities — Atlanta, Nagano, Sydney and Salt Lake City.

He repeated his defence of the Salt Lake City scholarship programme, which would centre on Salt Lake City because it is the only case with documented evidence. "If there is other proof, we will open other cases," he said. "If there are cases of corruption, we can't permit it in the Olympic family."



Whistleblower... the 80-year-old Swiss lawyer Marc Hodler leaves the IOC headquarters in Lausanne yesterday

embarrassment caused, Hodler, however, claimed the city had been blackmailed during their bid to stage the 2002 Winter Games. The Salt Lake committee operated a fund that provided nearly \$200,000 in aid to 13 people, including six relatives of IOC members.

"For us, Salt Lake City was a victim of blackmail and not a villain," Hodler said. "The real villains are the agents who put the cities in awkward positions using blackmail. Salt Lake City had been forced by blackmail to give financial favours."

Hodler said the "most detestable agent" has approached bid cities claiming "never in the past 16 years has a city won the Games without his help". He said other agents promise to secure IOC votes for free, while demanding \$3 million if the bid fails.

The Swiss is in charge of the IOC ethics committee which draws up the rules on bidding. Critics have long argued there should be sanctions against IOC members who accept the inducements offered to them by bidding cities.

Hodler came under attack for delaying his allegations until he is about to retire. "Why is he being so brave now? He should have been brave a long time ago," said Sheikh Ahmad Al-Saber, head of the Olympic Council of Asia.

Hodler said he decided to go public after a senior Swiss government official asked him about rumours of misconduct and wondered whether Hodler had been bribed to keep quiet.

Until now, there has only been "hearsay" of bribery that would not stand up as evidence in court, Hodler said. He admitted he had heard complaints from previous unsuccessful Olympic bidders, including Manch-

ester and Stockholm. "But now there is written proof of corruption practices in the case of the Salt Lake fund," he said.

Samaranch claimed the scandal could help the IOC clean up its act. "After the black day, the sun will come again," he said. "If we have clean things up, we will, if it is necessary, we will expel members. After the IOC will be even stronger than before."

Samaranch said he was not a certain runner and Raymond Hurley, his trainer, still has a preference for the King George provided there is cut in the ground.

A spokesperson for the stable said yesterday: "He's come out of his Punctuator."

race really well and is very fresh. He's spending a lot of time outside in a field. We still favour the King George but if Noel Meade claims Paul Carberry to ride at Leopardstown we will have to look for another jockey. That might become a factor as Carberry has struck up a very good partnership with the horse."

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Racing

King George losing out to Ericsson

EMPTON Park's Box Day feature, the King George VI Chase, is in danger of being overshadowed by the Ericsson Chase at Leopardstown on December 28, a race in which Florida Pearl, a 4-1 ante-post favourite with Hill's for the Cheltenham Gold Cup, is due to make his reappearance.

Joining him will be Sunny Bay, apparently unsuited by Kempton's right-hand track. Dorans Pride, Boss Doyle and possibly Imperial Call.

Richard Dunwoody has intimated that he is likely to ride Florida Pearl rather than Dorans Pride, who has twice been placed in the Gold Cup but is beginning to look a declining force.

Florida Pearl, on the other hand, is the emerging star. This giant six-year-old, trained by Willie Mullins, was an impressive winner of the Sun Alliance Chase at the Festival last season, although it could be argued in hindsight that in inflicting a length-and-a-half defeat on Escartefigue, heater three times this season, he did nothing to set the racing world straight.

However, Florida Pearl is unbeaten over fences, has shown an ability to handle all types of going and clearly acts around Cheltenham — his Sun Alliance win following bumper in the Festival Bumper the previous year.

The Cork-based bookmakers Cashmans are making Florida Pearl 6-4 favourite for the Ericsson Chase followed by Sunny Bay at 2-1, Imperial Call at 5-1, Dorans Pride at 6-1 and Boss Doyle at 12-1.

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Folkestone Jackpot card with guide to the form

CHRIS HAWKINS	TOP FORM
12.30	Krakbrook
1.00	Fantasia
1.30	Saraband
2.00	Secretariat
2.30	Kingsman
3.00	Northward
3.30	Northward

Underlying: 12.30. 1.00. 1.30. 2.00. 2.30. 3.00. 3.30. 4.00. 4.30. 5.00. 5.30. 6.00. 6.30. 7.00. 7.30. 8.00. 8.30. 9.00. 9.30. 10.00. 10.30. 11.00. 11.30. 12.00. 12.30. 13.00. 13.30. 14.00. 14.30. 15.00. 15.30. 16.00. 16.30. 17.00. 17.30. 18.00. 18.30. 19.00. 19.30. 20.00. 20.30. 21.00. 21.30. 22.00. 22.30. 23.00. 23.30. 24.00. 24.30. 25.00. 25.30. 26.00. 26.30. 27.00. 27.30. 28.00. 28.30. 29.00. 29.30. 30.00. 30.30. 31.00. 31.30. 32.00. 32.30. 33.00. 33.30. 34.00. 34.30. 35.00. 35.30. 36.00. 36.30. 37.00. 37.30. 38.00. 38.30. 39.00. 39.30. 40.00. 40.30. 41.00. 41.30. 42.00. 42.30. 43.00. 43.30. 44.00. 44.30. 45.00. 45.30. 46.00. 46.30. 47.00. 47.30. 48.00. 48.30. 49.00. 49.30. 50.00. 50.30. 51.00. 51.30. 52.00. 52.30. 53.00. 53.30. 54.00. 54.30. 55.00. 55.30. 56.00. 56.30. 57.00. 57.30. 58.00. 58.30. 59.00. 59.30. 60.00. 60.30. 61.00. 61.30. 62.00. 62.30. 63.00. 63.30. 64.00. 64.30. 65.00. 65.30. 66.00. 66.30. 67.00. 67.30. 68.00. 68.30. 69.00. 69.30. 70.00. 70.30. 71.00. 71.30. 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Cricket

Australia v England: third Test, fourth day

Australia administer the last rites

Mike Selvey in Adelaide

THE last 10 minutes of play yesterday may just have been the moments when any lingering hope England may have had of saving the Test — and with it the Ashes — disappeared. Set an unreachable target of 443 to win or, more realistically, to survive a minimum of 140 overs on a wearing pitch offering turn and a semblance of bounce, the chances did not look good.

Although the wickets of both openers were lost inside the first 14 overs Nasser Hussain and Mark Ramprakash, two who have consistently shown the technique and heart to take on the Australian attack, were putting things in perspective with a third-wicket stand of 89 and the prospect of taking the partnership into the final day, just as they had stayed together into the third morning.

But Colin Miller's off-spin confirmed the day over-

whelmingly as Australia's. He had already removed Mike Atherton with a seamer that drolled to silly point from the leading edge as the batsman turned the blade a fraction early and now, with the sanctity of the dressing-room ecstatically close for Hussain, he struck again. Going round the wicket — as off-spinners used to do but seem reluctant to try these days — he floated a delivery that pitched on the line of the stumps and turned into Hussain, beating his backward defensive jab and striking the pad in front.

Steve Bucknor, the West Indian umpire, offers the most lingering death in the game, but even he was satisfied almost immediately that the criteria had all been met.

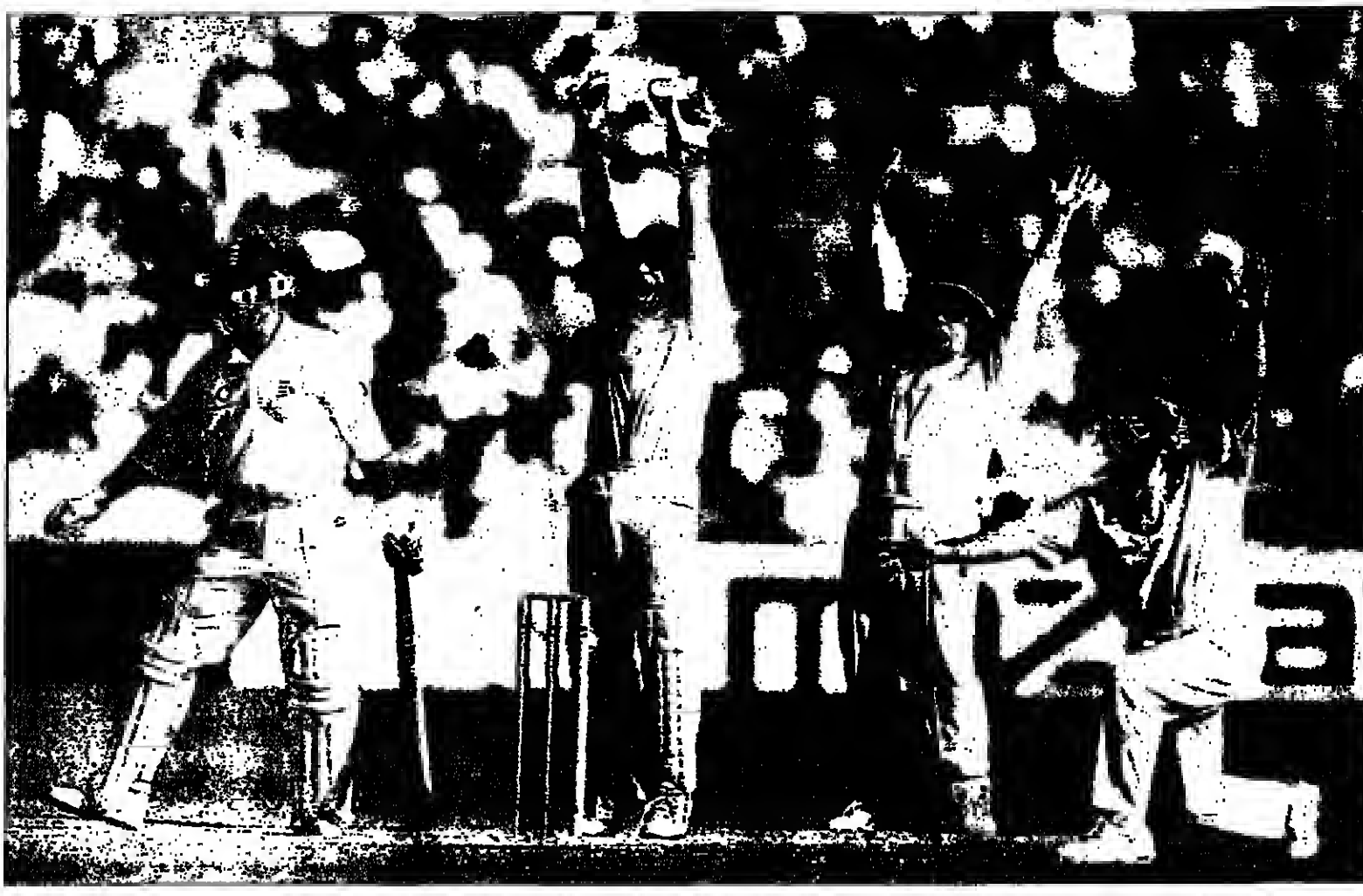
Hussain had made 41 in 133 minutes, darting down the pitch to the off-spinner and hitting him over the top until Mark Taylor decided to discourage him with a wide long-leader. He waited for the short ball to force off the back foot.

MacGill, who bamboozled Hussain so often in the first innings with the wrong'un but could not get his wicket, played with more authority. Hussain abandoning his habit of squaring up in forward defence through swinging his back leg round to the off in an arc — like a mariner plotting a course on a chart with a pair of compasses — in favour of a more side-on approach, and he looked the better for it.

Even the occasional shooter from the seamers, the sort of ball that Hussain above all the other England batsmen seems to get with unfair frequency, sneaked by the off-spinner. Miller's was a fine piece of old-fashioned off-spin bowling.

It brought to the crease Dean Headley, the nightwatchman on a king pair, who prodded at three balls before poking the next, via pad and glove, to Mark Waugh perched at silly point.

Commentators from Australia have come unstuck in predicting the future before the past has been perused in Eng-



Right of appeal... Nasser Hussain is trapped in front and the Australian fielders successfully pose the question

PHOTOGRAPH BY GIANLUCA CHIODINI

land, but at 122 for four and with a day to go, the game looked up.

Miller had taken three of the wickets at a cost of 36. Mark Butcher was the other, caught at the wicket off Damien Fleming after cutting at a ball too close to his body for comfort and under-edges.

Ramprakash — inevitably, it seems — was still there on 43 having batted a few minutes longer than Hussain and has Alec Stewart for company, although the England captain, demoting himself to five initially but because of

the late wicket to six, had yet to face a ball. A lesson, perhaps, is being slowly and painfully acknowledged: for the sake of his sanity, longevity and the side, he has to bat down the order for the remainder of the series.

Until Taylor's declaration at 278 for five, 40 minutes into the afternoon session, the Australians, spiky without quite breaking into a gallop, had done much as they pleased, although Darren Gough howled well with a ball well past its sell-by date to pick up the wickets of Ricky

Ponting and earlier that of Michael Slater with a vicious inswinging yorker.

Not, though, before Slater had reached 100, the 10th century of his Test career and the sixth against England. Some 4½ hours at the crease brought him a six and eight fours, two of them from Gough's opening deliveries of the day. Justin Langer also completed a diligent half-century to go with his massive 100th century, and there was 51 not out in only 83 balls from Mark Waugh. Taylor, mindful of the damage done

to Waugh's confidence by the revelations of the past week, had delayed his declaration.

Although he has been playing in a winning side, Ponting's fourth low score of the series, following 21 in Brisbane, 11 in Perth, five in the first innings here and now 10 in the second, means his place must be in jeopardy for Melbourne. The Australian selectors will have the opportunity to assess the contents of the England play and Australian XI in Hobart at the weekend.

An Australian second XI

has been chosen and all of the players, according to the selector Alan Border, could "take a pinch play in a Test tomorrow".

The batting, in particular, is formidable with Matthew Elliott, prodigious for Victoria this season, Greg Blewett, of whom England have seen quite enough already, Darren Lehmann, Stuart Law, Cory Richards, senior of four Shield centuries this season, and Michael Bevan. England's bowlers may not be exactly queuing up to have a tilt at that lot.

'Funky' phenomenon could not happen here

Matthew Engel on the rise and rise of Australia's journeyman off-spinner

WHEN cricket becomes sexy enough to warrant a movie, it will star Colin 'Funky' Miller. He spent a dozen years in Australian cricket doing nothing in particular, bowling his way from Victoria to South Australia and then to Tasmania, which is the Antipodean Durham, where pros go to fade away.

In the Australian winter, he would howl some more round about half the league grounds in the north of England. Then he got a contract in Holland. A year ago, he was playing for a little Tassie team in a club called Lindisfarne when he sprained his ankle.

So Miller shortened his run and risked a few of the offies he had tried in the past. Within months, he had taken 67 wickets and broken the all-time Sheffield Shield wicket-taking record for a season. By September he was in the Test team. By close of play yesterday he had taken three of the first four English wickets to fall.

There are dozens of reasons why he would never make the England team. He is 34. He wears an earring. He does not go to his room in the middle of a Test match and mope. He likes a drink, and does not turn into a pumpkin at midnight either. He is a cheery, open, friendly, amusing

man, smart enough to have learned Dutch.

If you studied cricketers' records like racehorse form (and that seems to be all the rage these days) there are form lines from league cricket that suggest plenty of skill. Miller, for that matter, Stuart MacGill.

But when they play for England, they become uptight and wary, mentally imprisoned in the atmosphere of embattlement. When people get picked for Australia, they add most to the skills. Miller bounded in as though anything was possible. And for him, it probably was.

The fourth day of the Adelaide Test was exegesis: mere commentary on what had happened before lunch on Sunday. Events were moving to what everyone presumed was manifest des-

tiny: England's defeat and Australia's Ashes, earlier in a winter than ever before.

Other results were of course theoretically possible. But they were not even topics for discussion. The press had dealt with this Test, and moved on to think about the Australian second team which has been picked to play England in Hobart next weekend, a game suddenly assuming remarkable significance.

The Australian newspaper, the *Advertiser*, had here. Their columnist Mike Coward, who has long been especially derisive about English cricket, deployed a fair number of barbs yesterday: "Abjectly despondent... new depths... lamentable... wretched... monumental failure... diabolical... firing squad." He concluded:

"England's cricket belongs to yesterday."

His colleague Malcolm Conn, another noted Pom-basher, threw in "exposed", "inadequate" and "dreadful". He was having a quiet day. Most of us were far more scathing than that.

The series is considered dead as a contest but not as an issue. Around the ground yesterday, there were as many posters complaining about the omission of the local hero Darren Lehmann from the Australian team as there were indulging in routine anti-English insults. Just as many had a blast at Shane Warne and Mark Waugh.

Late in the day a huge effigy of Warne — fit for Guy Fawkes' Night — was carried round in front of the stands. On its back was the

ambiguous slogan "Shane, spin us another one". It wasn't clear whether the intention was to set light to the guy, or suggest that it be given a few overs: on all recent evidence half the England batting order would struggle to score runs against such an opponent.

England has exported many things that have become staples of Australian life. The most damaging of them was the lowly rabbit, which has caused havoc to native wildlife. We're still sending rabbits out here. This morning they were due to bat. The hope was that they would at least run away from the headlamps for a few minutes, even if they were certain to be mown down soon enough. Weary, experienced and suggested they would not even twitch.



Victim... Miller celebrates Headley's wicket yesterday

Pakistan see victory hopes vanish in fog

THE second Test between Pakistan and Zimbabwe ended in a draw after fog prevented play on the final day in Lahore yesterday.

"It's a bit relief, but we would have liked to have had some cricket," said the Zimbabwe captain Alistair Campbell after the umpires called off play because of poor visibility.

The Pakistan captain Moin Khan was thus denied a chance to level the series in which Zimbabwe are one up after a seven-wicket win in the first Test. "We are really disappointed that weather destroyed our efforts to win here," he said.

Zimbabwe were 18 without loss in their second innings, trailing Pakistan by 91 runs, going into the last day.

The third and final Test starts at Faisalabad on Thursday.

Pools Forecast

FA CUP FIRST ROUND	
1 Chelsea	1 Tottenham
2 Coventry	2 Derby
3 Liverpool	3 Sheffield Wed
4 Man Utd	4 Middlesbrough
5 Newcastle	5 Leicester
6 Nottm Forest	6 Blackburn
7 Southampton	7 Wimbledon
8 West Ham	8 Everton

NATIONAL LEAGUE	
1 Barnsley	1 Swindon
2 Birmingham	2 Reading
3 Bolton	3 Portsmouth
4 Bradford City	4 Wolves
5 Carlisle	5 Huddersfield
6 Colchester	6 Walsley
7 Grimsby	7 Walsley
8 Luton	8 Bristol City
9 Port Vale	9 Bury
10 Stockport	10 Oxford
11 West Brom	11 Tranmere

SECOND DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Northampton
2 Charlton	2 Wigan
3 Colchester	3 Notts County
4 Luton	4 Millwall
5 Preston	5 Fulham

THIRD DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

FOURTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

FIFTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

SIXTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

SEVENTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

EIGHTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

NINTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

Results

Football	
1 Arsenal	1 Tottenham
2 Coventry	2 Derby
3 Liverpool	3 Sheffield Wed
4 Man Utd	4 Middlesbrough
5 Newcastle	5 Leicester
6 Nottm Forest	6 Blackburn
7 Southampton	7 Wimbledon
8 West Ham	8 Everton

NATIONAL LEAGUE	
1 Barnsley	1 Swindon
2 Birmingham	2 Reading
3 Bolton	3 Portsmouth
4 Bradford City	4 Wolves
5 Carlisle	5 Huddersfield
6 Colchester	6 Walsley
7 Grimsby	7 Walsley
8 Luton	8 Bristol City
9 Port Vale	9 Bury
10 Stockport	10 Oxford
11 West Brom	11 Tranmere

SECOND DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Northampton
2 Charlton	2 Wigan
3 Colchester	3 Notts County
4 Luton	4 Millwall
5 Preston	5 Fulham

THIRD DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

FOURTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

FIFTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

SIXTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

SEVENTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

EIGHTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

NINTH DIVISION	
1 Barnsley	1 Leyton
2 Birmingham	2 Macclesfield
3 Bolton	3 Southend
4 Bradford City	4 Southend
5 Carlisle	5 Southend
6 Colchester	6 Southend
7 Grimsby	7 Southend
8 Luton	8 Southend
9 Port Vale	9 Southend
10 Stockport	10 Southend
11 West Brom	11 Southend

Ice Hockey

Results

Football

IRVON INSURANCE COMBINATION:

1st Division: Luton 0 Colchester 2; Gillingham 0 Reading 1.

2nd Division: Fleetwood drew Salford 0-0; Huddersfield 1 Gillingham 1; St Helens 1 Bradford 1; Oldham 1; Salford 1; Wakefield 1; Wigan 1; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; 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Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camberley 1; Chesham 0; Tooting 1; Mitham 1; Gook 1; Slough 1; Ash 1; Salford 1; Seaford 1; Taunton 1; Woking 1; Vauxhall 1; GAC; Warrington 1; Thame 1; Camber

The disabled movement has gone from polite tin-rattling on the high street to being out, proud and militant — even fashionable. **Melissa Benn** looks at its rise to cultural and political power

A very able body

Kevin Donnellon is a Liverpool lad with a real mouth on him and a penchant for the exciting edge of politics. In his time, he has marched against apartheid, collected for the miners and twice been arrested on actions against American cruise missiles. But his final and most political weakening came from the one source he had always shied away from: his body.

Kevin, born in 1961, was a healthy lad. As a little boy, he spent many happy hours trying to adjust the artificial arms and legs which were strapped on him to "normalise" his appearance but which, fed, fussed, and frequently broken, caused him a great deal of trouble. He was often a fall, in adolescence, he threw the artificial limbs away. "I avoided the fact of my disability like the plague," he says, "I kept away from other disabled people."

That all changed in 1986 when Kevin attended a conference on Independent Living. "It was like a ball from the blue," he says. They were talking about the social model of disability, the idea that the problem was not the person but the environment. For years, whenever people entered me into a building, I used to think them, I was grateful. But I should have been angry instead, angry that there wasn't a lift."

As a result, Donnellon became a new kind of political animal, out, proud and militant about his disability. Last December, he was one of a handful of activists who dramatically splattered fake blood on the pavement outside Downing Street in protest at threatened cuts to benefit. He has been busy locally too this year alone, Donnellon and other disabled activists in the north have been organising a series of protests in Liverpool, Manchester, and in Hull city centre. He is also occupied with his three days until local elections and finally private law upstarters agreed to set up a forum to discuss access.

There are 8.6 million disabled people in Britain, according to the Government's latest official figures. It is a strange coalition of conditions and classes. While, of course, there is a high proportion of people with physical disabilities, there is also a high proportion of people with mental health problems, or a learning disability, or a chronic illness. Most of these people are not on the day-to-day energies of daily living, will not consider themselves

part of any organised movement. But they, like the rest of us, are learning a new political vocabulary which

embraces or promises — to name a few — the right to a decent standard of living, the right to a decent job, the right to a decent home, the right to a decent life.

A mere 10 years ago, disability was a dirty word, a stigma, a mark of shame. It was a mark of failure, a mark of weakness, a mark of inferiority.

But the disability movement has done more than shift cultural attitudes. It has a political force and focus, a political voice, a political agenda. It has a political voice, a political agenda, a political agenda.

The disability movement, as a new social movement, is now a force to be reckoned with. It is a force to be reckoned with, a force to be reckoned with, a force to be reckoned with.

Donnellon, a veteran of the disability movement, is now a Research Fellow in Sociology at the University of Leeds. He sees a new paradigm at work. "On the one hand, the medical model, the welfare reform and the new emphasis on civil rights all mean that the first time you're in human history, disability used to be a personal tragedy. Yet the advent of medical technology, particularly genetic screening, means more and more disabled people need not be born at all. He wants to see more debate around the growing genetic drive to human perfection and more discussion of resources in the world that is."

Three-and-a-half years ago, Kevin Donnellon, a Liverpool lad with a real mouth on him and a penchant for the exciting edge of politics, collected for the miners and twice been arrested on actions against American cruise missiles. But his final and most political weakening came from the one source he had always shied away from: his body.

Kevin, born in 1961, was a healthy lad. As a little boy, he spent many happy hours trying to adjust the artificial arms and legs which were strapped on him to "normalise" his appearance but which, fed, fussed, and frequently broken, caused him a great deal of trouble. He was often a fall, in adolescence, he threw the artificial limbs away. "I avoided the fact of my disability like the plague," he says, "I kept away from other disabled people."

That all changed in 1986 when Kevin attended a conference on Independent Living. "It was like a ball from the blue," he says. They were talking about the social model of disability, the idea that the problem was not the person but the environment. For years, whenever people entered me into a building, I used to think them, I was grateful. But I should have been angry instead, angry that there wasn't a lift."

As a result, Donnellon became a new kind of political animal, out, proud and militant about his disability. Last December, he was one of a handful of activists who dramatically splattered fake blood on the pavement outside Downing Street in protest at threatened cuts to benefit. He has been busy locally too this year alone, Donnellon and other disabled activists in the north have been organising a series of protests in Liverpool, Manchester, and in Hull city centre. He is also occupied with his three days until local elections and finally private law upstarters agreed to set up a forum to discuss access.

I and had I can actually look at my

OVER AND LAD GOES BACK TO

STANDARD



Blood on the cheek... Protesters outside Downing Street last December covered the pavement with fake blood in response to threatened cuts to disability benefits.

But what makes the disabled movement uniquely powerful in the 1990s is the strong, if not always comfortable, alliance between disabled activists and the big charities, such as Mencap, Mencap and Scope. In the 1980s the charities were mainly service providers and social workers. This shifted in the early 1990s, according to Kevin Donnellon, an activist in the disabled movement. And an activist like Kevin Donnellon has the right to be a part of the public life of the country.

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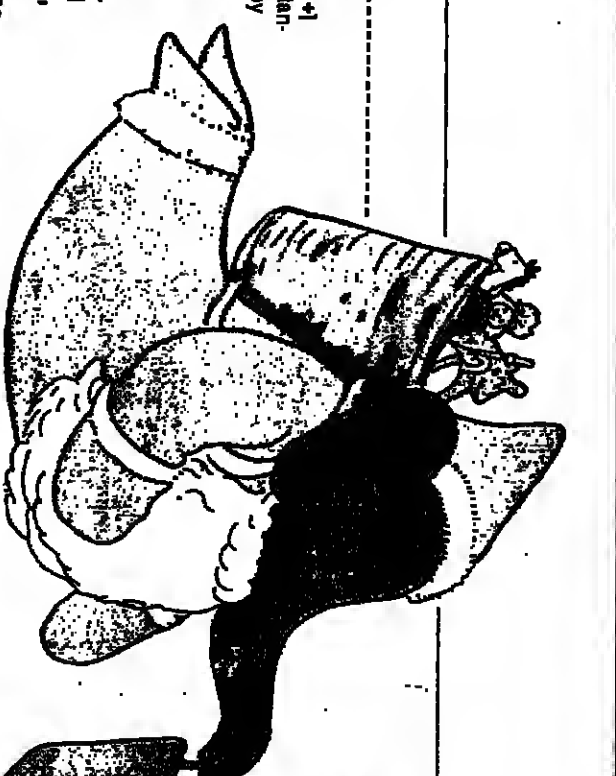
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Vivian French

Stories And Fun For The Very Young (Walker, £10.99, babies +). Exactly what it says — jolly stories, illustrations and poetry for young children. The Here and The There (Walker, £4.99, all ages) is a collection of stories and poems by Vivian French, a children's author and poet.

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Supporting... by Frances Thomas (Bloomsbury, £3.99, age 3+). Little More, until suddenly coming forth Mother Nature shows him how to do it. This is for anyone — email or big — with an overactive imagination. Do you always think the



are often very expensive — this offers a really terrific bargain together with plenty to look at and talk about, and if you don't know the nursery rhymes they are rapidly supplied at the end of the book. There's also a pop-up — real value for money!

F-Freedom ABC, by Poet Simon F. (Faber, £4.99, all ages). A delight. Antelope, Bear, Cat and Duck journey through steel, snow and storms all the way to Z... and an ending that makes small children giggle. It, however, you want to throw economy to the winds, go for my all-time favourite book of 1989...

Babes And Father Christmas (Methuen, £16.99, age 3+). First published in 1940, here it is again in the original large format, hand-lettered and all. BRILLIANT!

Star buys The children's books below can all be ordered at a special price through the Guardian's Children's Bookshop. Star Wars? Incredible Cross-sections? Dr David West? Reynolds, Porling Kindersley? Brilliant exploded artworks are combined with in-depth text to reveal the inner workings of the vehicles and spacecraft from the Star Wars films. £10.99 (p. 12, 89).

Age 10+ Star Wars? The Visual Dictionary. Discover the tools of Boba Fett's desert weaponry, find out what R2-D2's attachments do, and see inside a stormtrooper's helmet. £10.99 (p. 12, 89). Age 10+ Buy both titles for the special price of £20 (p. 12, 89); see ordering details below.

Reckless Countdown, Nick Sharratt, Walker Books. This wonderful little tip book counts down to the New Year. It is perfect for budding astronomers. £3.99 (p. 12, 89).

Age 1-4 How To Look After Your Rabbit, Colin and Jacqui Hawkins, Walker Books. If you have a pet rabbit or would like one this is the book for you! Includes sections on handling, grooming and breeding, plus many more fascinating facts. £3.99 (p. 12, 89). Age 8+ Dick King-Smith's Animal Friends, Walker Books. Over 30 true stories of animal friends and experiences. Illustrated with great charm, the tales cover farm animals, cats, lizards, a python, a tortoise and many other colourful creatures. £3.99 (p. 12, 89). Age 8+ The Very Wobbly Mouse, Anne Merrick, Bloomsbury. Lift the flaps and discover an enchanting world. £3.99 (p. 12, 89). Age 4-7

Books and tapes featured on this up can be ordered by sending a cheque payable to the Guardian Children's Bookshop, 250 Western Ave, London W8 6EE, United Kingdom

Artful dodgers far left, Sam Heaps' Let's Go! (p. 12, 89). Above, Sam Heaps' Let's Go! (p. 12, 89). Above, Sam Heaps' Let's Go! (p. 12, 89). Above, Sam Heaps' Let's Go! (p. 12, 89).

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Audiobooks of the year

Just say story! by Richard Scudgell (Penguin Audio, £3.99, 150 min). Tony Harrison, BBC. A delight. Antelope, Bear, Cat and Duck journey through steel, snow and storms all the way to Z... and an ending that makes small children giggle. It, however, you want to throw economy to the winds, go for my all-time favourite book of 1989...

The Hundred Mile-a-Hour Dog, by Jeremy Strong (Penguin, £5.99, 72 min). This is a story about a dog who can run 100 miles an hour. It is a story about a dog who can run 100 miles an hour. It is a story about a dog who can run 100 miles an hour.

Unbroken by Paul Haggis (Penguin, £5.99, 180 min). This is a story about a man who is unbroken. It is a story about a man who is unbroken. It is a story about a man who is unbroken.

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Health

Warts and all

Are fans of herbal medicine deluding themselves?
Jane Feinmann reports on a booming industry

Dora suffered depression and insomnia for months after the end of a significant relationship, but she dismissed suggestions from her doctor and her friends that she might benefit from an antidepressant. Then she read about St John's Wort, a herbal remedy that "works as well as Prozac" and is available from chemists and health food shops — and put herself on it straight away.

"I felt much safer taking something that was natural," she says. "And because I could go into a shop and buy a packet of pills, I felt I was staying in control, coping with my own grief rather than handing over to someone else." She's not alone. The herbal remedy market in Britain is growing by about 10 per cent a year with new converts representing a cross section of the population.

"The're not just New Agers," says Devon GP Mike Dixon, who found that many of his patients, like Dora, are far happier taking St John's Wort for depression than a prescription drug. "Some of them may well have philosophical or ecological leanings, but many are ordinary people with cars, jobs and kids who've heard about a herbal remedy and decided to try it by reading about it."

The development could be seen as a healthy reaction to the dependency culture some say is encouraged by the NHS. But are the fans of herbal medicine deluding themselves in their belief that pretty little flowers are safer — or indeed that the vapours of natural remedies will not exploit both the placebo effect and the public's desire for non-chemical solutions to their ailments?

Some herbal remedies are indeed

A herbal warning

• Never stop conventional medication to try a herbal remedy. Always consult your GP.

• There may be interactions with medicine you are taking. Consult a pharmacist or GP.

• Stick to recommended doses. Never assume more is better.

• Herbal medicines may have side-effects. Ask on the safe side and stop the remedy.

plantain and promoted for internal cleansing was contaminated with naturally occurring digitalis.

"Anyone buying a herbal remedy should be aware that there may not be many safeguards in place to root out toxic herbs," says Dr Amala Ramani, lecturer in pharmacology at King's College, London. "Nor are the ingredients necessarily the same from one purchase to the next. There is no comparison between a prescription drug such as aspirin — a stable, readily standardised chemical entity extracted in pure form from a plant — and a herbal remedy which can contain any number of variable constituents."

Even when products are standardised, there can still be problems. Kirt, a standardised extract of St John's Wort, is available on prescription in Germany for mild to moderate depression. It's seen by some psychiatrists as a useful treatment for people with Seasonal Affective Disorder and PMS — as well as for the many thousands who, like Dora, don't want to take antidepressants.

However, because the little yellow flower has no licence in the UK here not as medicine with an active ingredient, but as a "sunshine herb", manufacturers must rely on word of mouth and the media to explain about mood changes.

There is also no mention of side-effects on the packet — even though light sensitivity is an acknowledged risk and, says Dr Peter Houghton, reader at the Centre for Bioreactivity Screening of Natural Products at King's College, London, the plant has been shown to stimulate the uterus in animals. "There's not nec-

essarily a danger to women taking it, but as a 'sunshine herb', it's marketed as an antidepressant. It's marketed here not as medicine with an active ingredient, but as a 'sunshine herb', manufacturers must rely on word of mouth and the media to explain about mood changes.

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Diary of a hypochondriac

Matthew Norman

Hologram says hello

Tuesday

Four days after returning from my trip to Australia, the jet lag intensifies almost by the hour. My body clock is confused now that at no waking moment do I have any idea of the time of day. Indeed, I hardly know who I am; only that wherever I may be, I wish to God I was some-

Wednesday

I wake at 4.20am, baffled as to the reason for my early start. I know why Manchester United's game with Bayern Munich is on TV.

Thursday

The jet lag appears to be passing, but as it does so the memory of various ailments comes flooding back. As ever, a general sense of fatigue suffuses my body, while painful and sluggish urination points towards some nascent infection in the kidneys, or possibly the urinary tract. Most disturbing is the lump in the roof of my mouth, which has been there for a month despite Dr Sarah Jarvis's prediction in mid-

November that it would be gone in 36 hours.

Friday

Tension breaks out over the breakfast table when my wife catches me feeling the roof of my mouth with an index finger. "You're not still fretting about that, are you?" she asks, with typical kindness. "No, no, of course not," I reply. "Why would I give a second thought to a potentially terminal illness?" She rises briskly and heads for the front door.

Saturday

When she catches me in front of the bathroom mirror, holding my head at 180 degrees and trying to shine a torch on the growth, Rebecca exclaims:

"Hello? Doctor, hello?"

Sunday

I am alone in the house in the late afternoon. Rebecca having gone to dinner for the day and doing her bit (the jet lag is back) when the

torches on the growth, Rebecca exclaims:

"For Christ's sake, go and see Sarah before you ruin Christmas with this nonsense." I am loathe to do so, having called her twice from Australia on the matter. The first time, Dr Jarvis repeated her statement that it was not a tumour since "it's much too smooth". This second chat, a few days later, was brief. "Do you realise," she said, "that it's five o'clock in the morning?" No, I don't think so. "It is," she said. "No, I don't think so." "Here in Perth it is 2.30 in the afternoon. Hello? Doctor, hello?"

Sunday

I am alone in the house in the late afternoon. Rebecca having gone to dinner for the day and doing her bit (the jet lag is back) when the

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torches on the growth, Rebecca exclaims:

Visual arts



Nursery school... Laura Ford's *Greffe and Moose*, bottom left. *Bluk*, by Simon Periton. *Wormholes*, by Martin Gurney.

Grown artists playing with stuffed animals and paper dollies? Adrian Searle has had enough

Come on, act your age

The dog is sitting on the floor in a very big room. I call him Mopey. He's brown, and has been seen out of a blanket and stuffed. There's something a bit blunted and turgid about him, like one of those brain-damaged philomates that just lies there and sniffs, soaking up fog ash and spilled Guinness. The only other inhabitant of the room is a tall, thin bird, who stands in the corner, looking at the dog. Perhaps they've both been up to something. The room has an unsettling atmosphere, as if the characters from *Sesame Street* have tried their hardest at a *Peter Pan* or *Beetlejuice*, then thought better of it and given up. Disoriented animals, fed on?

In the next room, there are some more animals who aren't having any fun either. There's *Greffe*, who's got black trouble; *Moose*, with his droopy, mournful head and baseball-mitt ears; there's a dumpy turquoise creature with a snotty, thread-dangling from his nose; and such a winsome air of ingratiation, a stupidity that you want to give him a good kick. Don't ask about the caned, whose names could do with a cross-your-heart line.

Laura Ford's managerie gazes at a cross-your-heart line.

enlist the idea of the ornamental. The modernist baroque turns out to be optical Muzak. In this where the art-critical tradition has led? There we were, explaining Impressionism and group-champ with Cubism. We wrestled Duchamp and we analysed Mondrian. These were things we could get our teeth into. We educated, we mediated, we explained and we bit back when we could. The modernist critical tradition, which began with Ruskin and Pater, with their higher thought about civilisation and nature, has led us to the appreciation of what? Stuffed animals and paper dollies and hangers-on.

Where Ford and Periton's endeavour is pinned to the wall, two nifty paper-cut owls hang in willow black frames, painted glass-mosaic signs in a daily-crisp-on-the-floor and lean casually against the wall. Painted glass mushrooms, spout blue-high hither and thither. *Greffe*, this one looks like a liberty can the type-budding tribes drop in as a display — and a secure display. This set so much in its own choice. And now art wants to entertain us as though we were tiny toys. I'm off to go and strangle my inner child. And so, dear, don't blow your nose on the dolly.

Laura Ford and Jacques Periton and Simon Periton at Camden Arts Centre, London NW6 6RT 1-45 7453. At January 31.

PROFESSOR
Strategy and leadership in
construction

CHALMERS

The Guardian Tuesday December 16 1988 • 7

150 من الاصل

150 من الاصل

What are the odds on the first woman director of the Royal National Theatre?

Job description: High-profile leading light in the arts world (first ever director was Laurence Olivier) adviser to Government on issues involving the arts; responsible for the National's artistic programme and its efficient running.

Sperm smuggling. Embryos on the Internet. Eggs to go
Hettie Judah reports on the trade in human gametes

There is still no major problem, however: For complicated medical reasons, I need to find a sperm donor and an egg donor, and I need to find them *fast*, especially since I am

It is currently illegal to pay the donor more than \$15 plus expenses, a pally aim when you consider what's involved: the donor undergoes four or five weeks of potentially harmful and often uncomfortable drug treatments, which first repress the ovaries and then stimulate them; the eggs are then removed either through the stomach or the uterus. So if you're looking for a donor the legal way, you're looking for someone considerably altruistic.

It should come as no surprise, then, that there is a small, but often overlooked, market for "attractive," "normal" and "fertility" eggs. Many of the women on the list are allowed only the options of "attractive," "normal" and "fertility." What you need is O supermodel good! You may wish to tell friends it's a thing of fiction. New life offered the choice of giving oneself more than one personality profile: were I an older, infertile woman, with blonde hair, wanting to donate sperm, nothing, save my lack of appropriate genitalia, seems to prevent me.

One's donor match has been found, it's not all plain sailing. The difficulties involved in extracting eggs from the ovary are compounded by the fact that the donor is not protected for the purchaser. Anyone wanting to import sperm into this country requires a licence from the HFEA, but the authority

Obtained from a reliable source, the going rate for sperm from a licensed supplier is between \$150 and \$300. You can get an egg in the US for \$3,000, half of which goes to the donor. It is far easier to get hold of an American egg donor than a British one; many women, particularly impoverished college students, are attracted by the financial incentive.

Bill Hamel of the Centre for Surrogate Parenting and Egg Donation in Beverly Hills has said: 'The

would be willing to help embryos *en route* to the UK. The HPA would need to give its approval for import, and while one has actually applied for this yet, the authority is already concerned about the commercial nature of such a transaction. No HPA licence means to handle the embryos will be allowed to handle the embryos, which means no pregnancy. But if the embryos cannot come into the country, it is still possible for the woman to go to the embryo. A shipping trip of this kind in Beverly Hills will entail \$600 for compensatory counselling, \$1,900 for administrative costs, \$750 legal fees, \$2,650 for legal counsel – a total cost of over \$6,000. On top of this comes the price of the sperm donation, then medical bills, doctors' fees, laboratory fees, medication, air travel, accommodation and so on. And all before the child is even born.

66 made my husband woo me
it, trying to revive a relationship

again," declared Whitney Houston last week after admitting her six-year marriage to Bobby Brown had hit serious problems. "He had to eat me, eat me, fight this way back," she said.

A forthright warfarer, it was taken apparently on the same mission, swirling and churning like a ship's propeller, "They looked like a couple very much in love," according to one witness. Studdiford it seems even offends in

stripping down menswear jeans, back to the first heavenly days of romance, in an effort to bring it again but without the girl-friends. "She friends who came to lunch the other day. 'They' in the middle of having sex with the house. They're flying towels over, so they're not being seen, they're not in any rooming place. Two places it runs out. After a bit of channeling it conveyed that their marriage was in therapy and they were 'getting back their space,' ie their relationship

hired him a Titanic-sized iceberg and they were eating round despair—
they for a while to retrieve it.

"We're allowed to say, 'I got angry
twice a week,' they said, glibly.
"We're supposed to be rediscovering
the excitement," the wife added,
with a note of sarcasm.

It sounded grossly presumptuous:
hardly a month ago, some other
Florida, after a year of painful effort,
checked the marital therapists, and
checked the marriage over. Thank
God, we cried, after watching the
excitement in what looked like
increasingly desperate attempts to
have any kind of relationship at all.


Dr. Patricia d'Ardennes, who influen-
ces marital cases you are never from
the pressures of different towers? A

only thing to do is separate, then too each other again," he says. It sounds wildly optimistic. "But it works if both parties want the marriage to work. They have to learn that it's nice to do things for the other person, to be friends again. It's putting the tin back into the relationship, going out together not with friends or with the children, but on their own. After all, they worked hard enough to build a relationship and to get married."

[illegible]

tionally succeed? That depends, blow says, on what you mean by "success." Outcome cannot be measured by whether the couple is together. What matters is the quality of the relationship. In the separation more or less could have been? To paraphrase Freud, lost people are tried who get married. Trying to go again is not an option. You build something different, says Cunningham of London's first-rate Goddard. But you can't be back to what there once was, he says. It isn't working now, something has to emerge. If a couple want to, there is hope.

So good luck, Gazza, Shazza,



By Michael Gille have far more high-minded interests. The photo story is about a girl who lost her cat and found her with intentions, while the make-over features a 12-year-old Sam and her mother Beaun being simultaneously groomed. Oh all right then, there is a picture of one anti-minded men... Kissing a dolphin.

With too many of our gift-giving partners still in the "I'm not ready to get serious" phase, we've put together a list of gifts that are sure to get you out of the "I'm not ready" phase and into the "I'm ready" phase. We've also included a list of gifts that are sure to get you out of the "I'm not ready" phase and into the "I'm ready" phase.

Side

Good old antitorture. Blue-blooded Charles Spencer, brother of the late Diana, follows tradition so closely, it has almost become a religion. "I do believe in male primogeniture," he said in an interview in yesterday's Daily Telegraph. "I automatically think in the same terms as I was brought up to think in." Ah well, who needs imagination when you can spend £3m converting your stable block?

Presumably, "the company who have had the foresight to see a

010

